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The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
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PUBLICATIONS

OF

The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

TRANSACTIONS

1900–1902

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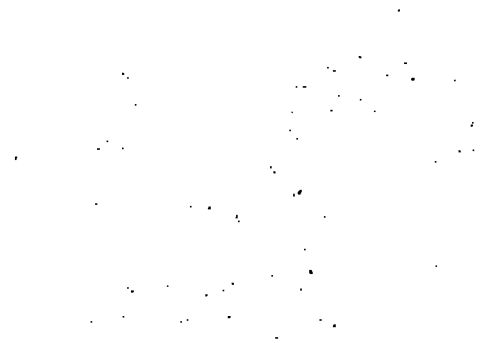

PUBLICATIONS

OF

The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

VOLUME VII.

TRANSACTIONS

1900–1902

BOSTON
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1905

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PREFACE.

THIS volume contains the Transactions of the Society, in continuation of Volume VI., at fourteen meetings, and a portion of the record of three meetings of the Council,— from April, 1900, to April, 1902, both inclusive. Two of these meetings were Memorial meetings, — one for President WHEELWRIGHT, the other for Vice-President THAYER. There will also be found in the following pages tributes to Governor WOLCOTT, Professor EVERETT, and HENRY WILLIAMS; and Memoirs of EDWARD GRIFFIN PORTER, by SAMUEL SWETT GREEN; of ROBERT NOXON TOPPAN, by ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS; and of CHARLES CARROLL EVERETT, by EPHRAIM EMERTON, each accompanied by a portrait.

Among the more important communications are those on Captain Thomas Preston and the Boston Massacre, including documents and details little known to historians, on the term Brother Jonathan, and on the term Indian Summer, by Mr. MATTHEWS; two unpublished Diaries and correspondence of Washington, by Mr. FORD; four unpublished letters of Governor John Winthrop the elder, and an unpublished letter and Report on the condition of the Massachusetts Colony about 1639 by the Reverend Edmund Browne, by Mr. GAY; on an excursion on the Middlesex Canal by Daniel Webster and others in the summer of 1817, and on Professor John Winthrop, the first recipient from Harvard College of

the degree of Doctor of Laws, by Mr. EDES; a sketch of Edward Rawson, by our late associate, Mr. TOPPAN; a Journal kept by Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Vose on the expedition against Canada in 1776, by Mr. HENRY W. CUNNINGHAM; and extracts from the Journal and papers of Governor Henry Hamilton, by Mr. LANE.

The most important communication, however, is Mr. GAY'S letter of 6 . March, 1902, in which he generously offered to bear the cost of transcribing the early Records of Harvard College and of printing so much as will make one volume of our Collections.

For the portrait of Montcalm, which is now engraved for the first time from the fine original, the Society is indebted to its owner, Mr. SLADE. The plate of Professor Winthrop was given by Mr. EDES; and the Plan which accompanies the Vose Journal was furnished by Mr. CUNNINGHAM. The Society is also indebted to Mr. Henry Parkman for permission to engrave Stuart's portrait of Mr. Webster, painted immediately after the latter's removal from Portsmouth to Boston in 1816, which Jonathan Mason pronounced "the most intellectual head of Webster ever painted." Most of the plates which illustrate this book have been engraved expressly for it by Mr. Elson.

In the issue of the previous Volumes of our Publications, and of the Serials, there has been a delay much to be regretted, but under the circumstances unavoidable. All the editing was necessarily done by members of the Committee of Publication, and mainly by a single member, — busy men, in the midst of their other engrossing occupations. A more hampering difficulty still was our limited Publication Funds, which made prompt and frequent issue impossible. It is safe to say, however, that the high character of our Publications has been maintained, not only without impairment but rather with steady advancement.

Through the generosity of members and friends our Publication Funds have recently been so far increased as to justify the employment of a salaried Editor, who has been appointed within the year, and thereby to insure the prompt distribution of our Volumes and Serials hereafter, and the maintenance of our former standard.

Volumes II. and IV., which are to contain Collections, are in preparation; and it is expected that Volume VIII., which will contain the Transactions in continuation of the present volume, will be issued shortly.

For the Committee of Publication,

JOHN NOBLE,
Chairman.

BOSTON, August, 1905.

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Members who have died since the publication of the preceding volume of Transactions, with the Date of Death.

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Henry Walbridge Taft, A.M.	22 September, 1904.
Joshua Montgomery Sears, A.B.	2 June, 1905.

Honorary.

Hon. James Coolidge Carter, LL.D. . . .	14 February, 1905.
Hon. John Hay, LL.D.	1 July, 1905.

TRANSACTIONS

1900–1902

TRANSACTIONS

OF

THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS.

APRIL MEETING, 1900.

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at No. 25 Beacon Street, Boston, on Wednesday, 18 April, 1900, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, EDWARD WHEELWRIGHT, in the chair.

The Minutes of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The PRESIDENT appointed the following Committees, in anticipation of the Annual Meeting: —

To nominate candidates for the several offices, — Dr. CHARLES CARROLL EVERETT,[1] and Messrs. LOUIS CABOT and ALBERT MATTHEWS.

To examine the Treasurer's Accounts, — Messrs. ANDREW C. WHEELWRIGHT and FRANCIS H. LINCOLN.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that since the last meeting of the Society he had received letters from Dr. JOHN SHAW BILLINGS and Dr. HORACE HOWARD FURNESS, accepting Corresponding Membership.

[1] At a meeting of the Council, held 5 November, 1900, Mr. Samuel Wells was appointed to fill the vacancy in the Nominating Committee caused by the death of Dr. Everett.

Dr. FURNESS's letter is as follows: —

WALLINGFORD,
DELAWARE COUNTY,
PENNSYLVANIA.

DEAR SIR; — Yours of the 21st inst. I have just received, informing me of my election as a Corresponding Member of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts.

Kindly convey to the Society the expression of my great appreciation of the high and unexpected honor thus conferred upon me; and believe me to be, dear Sir,

Very respectfully
Your obedient servant,
HORACE HOWARD FURNESS.

23 March, 1900.

JOHN NOBLE, Esq.
Corresponding Secretary,
BOSTON.

Mr. ROBERT N. TOPPAN, on behalf of Mr. ABNER C. GOODELL, who was unable to be present, communicated, with remarks, a copy of the Commission to Edward Randolph as Collector, Surveyor and Searcher of Customs within the Colonies of New England, dated 30 September, 1681.[1] It was this commission that provoked the government of the Massachusetts Colony to defy openly the authorities at Whitehall: by declaring it inoperative without the ratification of the Colonial government; by forbidding it to be read in court; by passing an ordinance making it a capital offence to act under it without their permission; and, finally, by arresting and imprisoning Randolph's deputies.[2]

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS spoke as follows: —

At the meeting of this Society in November, 1897, Mr. Noble exhibited some papers in connection with the so-called Boston

[1] The text of this Commission will appear in Volume ii. of these Publications, which is reserved for the Royal Commissions.

[2] Mr. Goodell's Remarks at a meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society in November, 1899, printed in its Proceedings (Second Series), xiii. 290, 291.

Massacre.[1] So minute has been the study of that event, that it seems well-nigh impossible to unearth anything new in regard to it; yet there are a few documents which appear to be little known to historians. No apology, therefore, is needed for submitting these, especially as they relate to Captain Thomas Preston of the 29th Regiment.[2] Five days after the tragedy, Preston published in a Boston paper a card thanking the public for the manner in which he had been treated on the night "of the late unhappy

[1] Publications of this Society, v. 58–77.

[2] Of Preston himself little is known. He received a commission as Captain of the 29th Regiment on 7 December, 1764 (British Army List for 1772, p. 83). The 29th Regiment came to America in 1766 (W. C. Ford's British Officers serving in America), and was one of the two regiments which arrived at Boston in September, 1768. Capt. Preston was present at "a genteel dance" given 21 February, 1770, by John Rowe, a Boston merchant, for his adopted daughter Susanna Inman, who, by her marriage two years later with Capt. John Linzee, became the ancestress of Prescott the historian (2 Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for March, 1895, x. 33). John Rowe himself said, on the following fifth of March, that "Capt. Preston bears a good character," and on the ninth of March Rowe wrote: — "I went and paid a visit to Capt. Preston in goal, who I found in much better spirits than I expected" (*Ibid.* x. 73, 74). On the sixth of the same month Andrew Oliver, Jr., said that Capt. Preston "bears the most amiable character of any one in the Army" (Diaries of Benjamin Lynde and of Benjamin Lynde, Jr., pp. 227, 228). On the thirteenth of March, William Palfrey wrote: —

> I cannot leave this subject without doing justice to Cap^{t} Preston so far as to inform you that before this unfortunate event, he always behav'd himself unexceptionably & had the character of a sober, honest man & a good officer, — but Influence, fatal influence! (1 Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for March, 1863, vi. 483).

And on the twenty-eighth of June following the Rev. Dr. Andrew Eliot declared that —

> Capt. Preston, who commanded the party that fired on the unarmed inhabitants, had the character of a benevolent, humane man; he insists on his innocence, and that his men fired without his orders (4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, iv. 451).

When one remembers the bitter feelings engendered here by the presence of the troops, and how easily the inhabitants took offence, it must be admitted that these extracts bear strong testimony to the high estimation in which Preston was held. He sailed for England from Boston on Thursday the sixth[1] of

[1] In the Massachusetts Gazette of Friday, 7 December, 1770, No. 3505, it is stated that "His Majesty's Ship Glasgow sailed Yesterday for England: In her went Passengers, Hon. James Murray, Esq; Capt. Preston of the 29th Regiment" (p. 3/2). Mr. Noble quoted (Publications, v. 68 n.) the Boston Gazette of 10 December as showing that the Glasgow sailed on Wednesday, the fifth of December; but Wednesday appears to have been a mistake for Thursday, as three other Boston papers agree in stating that the ship sailed on Thursday.

Affair." Within a few days he had sent to England an account which, under the title of the Case of Capt. Preston of the 29th Regiment, was published in London in the Public Advertiser of Saturday, 28 April, 1770, No. 11052, p. 2. On the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth of March various depositions in the interest of the soldiers were taken, and these were afterwards printed in the pamphlet,[1] published in London, called A Fair Account of the late Unhappy Disturbance At Boston in New England. These Depositions and the Case of Captain Preston were doubtless carried to England by John Robinson, one of the Commissioners of the Board of Customs, who sailed from Boston on the sixteenth of March.[2] Meanwhile, depositions were taken

December, 1770. For four years he continued to be Captain of the 29th Regiment, but his name appears in the Army Lists for the last time in 1774. In the Gentleman's Magazine for November, 1781, is recorded the death, at Harwich on the twelfth of that month, of "Capt. Preston, of the W. Middlesex militia" (li. 543); but it hardly seems likely that this could have been our Capt. Thomas Preston.

[1] This was brought to Boston by Capt. James Scott, who arrived here 13 September, and an abstract from it was printed in the Boston Gazette of Monday, 24 September, 1770, No. 807, p. 2. In the Massachusetts Gazette of Thursday, 13 September, No. 3492, we read: —

TWELVE o'clock at Noon arrived the Ship Lydia, James Scott, Master, from London (p. 2/3).

[2] In the Massachusetts Gazette of Thursday, 22 March, 1770, No. 3468, is the following: —

Friday last [16 March] sailed for London the Captains Robson and Miller; in the former went the Hon. John Robinson, Esq; one of the Commissioners of the Board of Customs (p. 3/2).

In a pamphlet printed in London in 1774, we read: —

Mr. *Robinson*, one of the Commissioners who attempted to assassinate Mr. Otis, was dispatched [On the 16th of March] to *England* immediately after the Affair of the 5th of *March*, with a Case said to be that of Captain *Preston*, though directly repugnant to what he had published under his own Hand. This Case had been secretly drawn up, and was as secretly transmitted. The Purpose of it was to throw the Charge of being the Aggressors upon the People, and that the Soldiers fired upon them in their own Defence, and to save the Custom House from being plundered (A True State of the Proceedings In the Parliament of Great Britain, and in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, p. 11).

This pamphlet was reprinted at Philadelphia in the same year, and in 1777 was included in Almon's Collection of interesting, authentic Papers, relative to the Dispute between Great Britain and America (usually called Prior Documents), where it is stated to have been "Drawn up by Dr. Benjamin Franklin"

on behalf of the Town of Boston, and these were carried to England by Captain Andrew Gardner, who sailed from Boston on the first of April.[1] The London papers containing the Case of Captain Preston and other documents relating to the Riot reached Boston on the eighteenth of June,[2] the Case of Captain Preston was printed in several of the papers here, and a great stir was created. Captain Gardner left London on his return on the eleventh of May and arrived at Boston on the sixth of July.[3] On the tenth of July a town meeting was held to consider the letters brought by Captain Gardner and the Case of Captain Preston, and a Committee was then appointed to draw up a Statement. This Committee reported at an adjourned meeting on the thirteenth at which the letter drafted by the Committee was accepted, and this letter was sent to England on the fourteenth.[4] The Statement from the

(p. 255). Sparks reprinted the Pamphlet in his edition of Franklin's Works (iv. 466–515). Sabin, quoting Sparks, says that it was chiefly drawn up by Arthur Lee from materials furnished by Franklin. The real author was Lee, as appears from what he himself wrote not later than 1792 : —

In the spring of 1774, I sat out with Mr. and Mrs. Izard to make the tour of France and Italy. But previous to my going I drew up a piece entitled, " A True State of the Proceedings in the Province of Massachusetts Bay," which has been attributed to Dr. Franklin because it was left with him as agent to have it printed (R. H. Lee's Life of Arthur Lee, 1829, i. 262).

[1] The Bostonians hired a vessel for this purpose, as appears from these extracts : —

A prime sailing Schooner, owned and commanded by Capt. Andrew Gardner, has been hired by this Town, to carry to England, a full Representation of the tragical Affair on the Evening of the 5th of this Month (Massachusetts Gazette Extraordinary of Friday, 23 March, 1770, p. 1/3).

The Schooner Betsey, Capt. Andrew Gardner, employed to carry Home the Representation of the late Massacre, lays ready for sailing (Massachusetts Gazette of Thursday, 29 March, No. 3469, p. 2/1).

The Schooner Betsey Packet, Capt. Gardner, sailed from hence for London last Sunday, and proceeded immediately to Sea (Massachusetts Gazette Extraordinary of Friday, 6 April, p. 2/1).

[2] They were brought by Capt. Hall. In the Massachusetts Gazette of Thursday, 21 June, 1770, No. 3480, it is stated that " *Monday last arrived here Capt. Hall from London* " (p. 3/2).

[3] In a letter written 7 July, James Bowdoin said : —

The latest intelligence from England was rec[d] here last evening by Capt. Gardiner, who was sent thither express with the town's dispatches on y[e] subject of the late massacre (6 Massachusetts Historical Collections, ix. 194).

[4] In the Massachusetts Gazette of Monday, 16 July, 1770, No. 673, it is stated that " Last Saturday the Brig Paoli, Captain Hall, sailed for LONDON " (p. 3/3).

Town of Boston was not recorded in the Town Records nor printed in the newspapers here, and in a single historical work only have I found an allusion to it. It was, however, published in an English monthly magazine. The documents follow.

I.

BOSTON-GOAL, Monday, 12th March, 1770.

Messieurs EDES & GILL,

PERMIT me thro' the Channel of your paper, to return my Thanks in the most publick Manner to the Inhabitants in general of this Town— who throwing aside all Party *and Prejudice, have with the utmost Humanity and Freedom stept forth Advocates for Truth, in Defence of my injured Innocence, in the late unhappy Affair that happened on Monday Night last: And to assure them, that I shall ever have the highest Sense of the* Justice *they have done me, which will be ever gratefully remembered, by*

Their most obliged and most obedient humble Servant,
THOMAS PRESTON.[1]

II.

CASE of Capt. THOMAS PRESTON
of the 29th Regiment.

IT is Matter of too great Notoriety to need any Proofs, that the Arrival of his Majesty's Troops in Boston was extremely obnoxious to it's Inhabitants. They have ever used all Means in their Power to weaken the Regiments, and to bring them into Contempt, by promoting and aiding Desertions, and with Impunity, even where there has been the clearest Evidence of the Fact, and by grossly and falsly propagating Untruths concerning them. On the Arrival of the 64th & 65th, their Ardour seemingly began to abate; it being too expensive to buy off so many; and Attempts of that Kind rendered too dangerous from the Numbers. — But the same Spirit revived immediately on it's being known that those Regiments were ordered for Halifax, and hath ever since their Departure been breaking out with greater Violence. After their Embarkation, one of their Justices, not thoroughly acquainted with the People and their Intentions, on the Trial of the 14th Regiment, openly and publicly, in the Hearing of great Numbers of People, and from the Seat of Justice, declared, "that the Soldiers must now take

[1] Boston Gazette of Monday, 12 March, 1770, No. 779, p. 3/1.

Care of themselves, *nor trust too much to their Arms*, for they were but a Handful; that the Inhabitants carried Weapons concealed under their Cloaths, and would destroy them in a Moment *if they pleased.*" This, considering the malicious Temper of the People, was an alarming Circumstance to the Soldiery. Since which several Disputes have happened between the Towns-People and Soldiers of both Regiments, the former being encouraged thereto by the Countenance of even some of the Magistrates, and by the Protection of all the Party against Government. In general such Disputes have been kept too secret from the Officers. On the 2d instant, two of the 29th going through one Gray's Rope-Walk, the Rope-makers insultingly asked them if they would empty a Vault. This unfortunately had the desired Effect by provoking the Soldiers, and from Words they went to Blows. Both Parties suffered in this Affray, and finally, the Soldiers retired to their Quarters. The Officers, on the first Knowledge of this Transaction, took every Precaution in their Power to prevent any ill Consequences. Notwithstanding which, single Quarrels could not be prevented; the Inhabitants constantly provoking and abusing the Soldiery. The Insolence, as well as utter Hatred of the Inhabitants to the Troops, increased daily; insomuch, that Monday and Tuesday, the 5th and 6th instant, were privately agreed on for a general Engagement; in Consequence of which several of the Militia came from the Country, armed to join their Friends, menacing to destroy any who should oppose them. This Plan has since been discovered.

On Monday Night about Eight o'Clock two Soldiers were attacked and beat. But the Party of the Towns-People, in order to carry Matters to the utmost Length, broke into two Meeting-Houses, and rang the Alarm Bells, which I supposed was for Fire as usual, but was soon undeceived. About Nine some of the Guard came to and informed me, the Town-Inhabitants were assembling to attack the Troops, and that the Bells were ringing as the Signal for that Purpose, and not for Fire, and the Beacon intended to be fired to bring in the distant People of the Country. This, as I was Captain of the Day, occasioned my reparing immediately to the Main-Guard. In my Way there I saw the People in great Commotion, and heard them use the most cruel and horrid Threats against the Troops. In a few Minutes after I reached the Guard, about an hundred People passed it, and went towards the Custom-House, where the King's Money is lodged. They immediately surrounded the Sentinel posted there, and with Clubs and other Weapons threatened to execute their Vengeance on him. I was soon informed by a Townsman, their Intention was to carry off the Soldier from his Post, and probably murder him. On which I desired him to

return for further Intelligence; and he soon came back and assured me he heard the Mob declare they would murder him. This I feared might be a Prelude to their plundering the King's Chest. I immediately sent a non-commissioned Officer and twelve Men[1] to protect both the Sentinel and the King's-Money, and very soon followed myself, to prevent (if possible) all Disorder; fearing lest the Officer and Soldiery by the Insults and Provocations of the Rioters, should be thrown off their Guard and commit some rash Act. They soon rushed through the People, and, by charging their Bayonets in half Circle, kept them at a little Distance. Nay, so far was I from intending the Death of any Person, that I suffered the Troops to go to the Spot where the unhappy Affair took Place, without any Loading in their Pieces, nor did I ever give Orders for loading them. This remiss Conduct in me perhaps merits Censure; yet it is Evidence, resulting from the Nature of Things, which is the best and surest that can be offered, that my Intention was not to act offensively, but the contrary Part, and that not without Compulsion. The Mob still increased, and were more outrageous, striking their Clubs or Bludgeons one against another, and calling out, "come on, you Rascals, you bloody Backs, you Lobster[2] Scoundrels; fire if you dare, G—d damn you, fire and be damn'd; we know you dare not;" and much more such Language was used. At this Time I was between the Soldiers and the Mob, parleying with and endeavouring all in my Power to persuade them to retire peaceably; but to no Purpose. They advanced to the Points of the Bayonets, struck some of them, and even the Muzzles of the Pieces, and seemed to be endeavouring to close with the Soldiers. On which some well-behaved Persons asked me if the Guns were charged: I replied, yes. They then asked me if I intended to order the Men to fire; I answered no, by no Means; observing to them, that I was advanced before the Muzzles of the Men's Pieces, and must fall a Sacrifice if they fired; that the Soldiers were upon the Half cock and charged Bayonets, and my giving the Word fire, under those Circumstances, would prove me no Officer. While I was thus speaking, one of the Soldiers, having received a severe Blow with a Stick, stept a little on one Side, and instantly fired, on which turning to and asking

[1] This statement is alluded to by the late C. F. Adams, in his Life of John Adams, but without indicating where Preston's statement can be found (Works of J. Adams, i. 98).

[2] The word "lobster," as applied to a British soldier, was not necessarily one of contempt. The word was used in England by the middle of the seventeenth century, and it was occasionally employed in this country between 1750 and 1776 to distinguish a regular from a provincial.

him why he fired without Orders, I was struck with a Club on my Arm, which for sometime deprived me of the Use of it; which Blow, had it been placed on my Head, most probably would have destroyed me. On this a general Attack was made on the Men by a great Number of heavy Clubs, and Snow-Balls being thrown at them, by which all our Lives were in imminent Danger; some Persons at the same Time from behind calling out, "Damn your Bloods, why don't you fire?" Instantly three or four of the Soldiers fired, one after another, and directly after three more in the same Confusion and Hurry.

The Mob then ran away, except three unhappy Men who instantly expired, in which Number was Mr. Gray, at whose Rope-Walk the prior Quarrel took Place; one more is since dead, three others are dangerously, and four slightly wounded. The Whole of this melancholy Affair was transacted in almost 20 Minutes. On my asking the Soldiers why they fired without Orders, they said they heard the Word "Fire," and supposed it came from me. This might be the Case, as many of the Mob called out "Fire, fire," but I assured the Men that I gave no such Order, that my Words were, "Don't fire, stop your Firing:" In short it was scarce possible for the Soldiers to know who said fire, or don't fire, or stop your Firing. On the People's assembling again to take away the dead Bodies, the Soldiers, supposing them coming to attack them, were making ready to fire again, which I prevented by striking up their Firelocks with my Hand. Immediately after a Townsman came and told me, that 4 or 5000 People were assembled in the next Street, and had sworn to take my Life with every Man's with me; on which I judged it unsafe to remain there any longer, and therefore sent the Party and Sentry to the Main-Guard, where the Street is narrow and short, there telling them off into Street Firings, divided and planted them at each End of the Street to secure their Rear, momently expecting an Attack, as there was a constant Cry of the Inhabitants, "To Arms, to Arms, — turn out with your Guns," and the Town Drums beating to Arms. I ordered my Drum to beat to Arms, and being soon after joined by the different Companies of the 29th Regiment, I formed them as the Guard into Street Firings. The 14th Regiment also got under Arms, but remained at their Barracks. I immediately sent a Serjeant with a Party to Col. Dalrymple, the Commanding Officer, to acquaint him with every Particular. Several Officers going to join their Regiment were knocked down by the Mob, one very much wounded, and his Sword taken from him. The Lieutenant Governor and Col. Carr soon after met at the Head of the 29th Regiment, and agreed that the Regiment should retire to their Barracks, and the People to their Houses; but I kept the Piquet to strengthen the Guard. It was with

great Difficulty that the Lieutenant-Governor prevailed on the People to be quiet and retire: At last they all went off excepting about an Hundred.

A Council was immediately called, on the breaking up of which three Justices met, and issued a Warrant to apprehend me and eight Soldiers. On hearing of this Procedure, I instantly went to the Sheriff and surrendered myself, though for the Space of four Hours I had it in my Power to have made my Escape, which I most undoubtedly should have attempted, and could have easily executed, had I been the least conscious of any Guilt.

On the Examination before the Justices, two Witnesses swore that I gave the Men Orders to fire; the one testified he was within two Feet of me; the other, that I swore at the Men for not firing at the first Word. Others swore they heard me use the Word "Fire," but whether do or do not fire they could not say; others, that they heard the Word "Fire," but could not say if it came from me. The next Day they got five or six more to swear I gave the Word to fire. So bitter and inveterate are many of the Malcontents here, that they are industriously using every Method to fish out Evidence to prove it was a concerted Scheme to murder the Inhabitants. Others are infusing the utmost Malice and Revenge into the Minds of the People who are to be my Jurors by false Publications, Votes of Towns, and all other Artifices, that so from a settled Rancour against the Officers and Troops in general, the Suddenness of my Trial after the Affair, while the People's Minds are all greatly inflamed, I am though perfectly innocent, under most unhappy Circumstances, having nothing in Reason to expect but the Loss of Life in a very ignominious Manner, without the Interposition of his Majesty's Royal Goodness.[1]

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[1] Massachusetts Gazette Extraordinary of Thursday, 21 June, 1770, p. 1. The document was also printed in the Supplement to the Boston Gazette of Monday 25 June, No. 794, and in the Supplement to the Boston Evening Post, of Monday, 25 June, No. 1813.

It should be remembered that in 1770 there were two papers published in Boston each called the Massachusetts Gazette. The full title of one was "The Massachusetts Gazette: and the Boston Weekly News-Letter." This was published on Thursdays and was printed by Richard Draper. The full title of the other was "The Massachusetts Gazette, and the Boston Post-Boy and Advertiser." This was published on Mondays and was printed by Green and Russell.

In Wells's Life of Samuel Adams (i. 315, 316), the document in the text is twice cited as "Preston's Case," but no indication is given as to where it can be found.

III.

The Freeholders and other inhabitants of this Town are to meet at Faneuil-Hall To-Morrow, at Nine o'Clock in the Morning, in order that certain Letters received by Capt. Gardner, in answer to those sent by him to our Friends in England, relative to the horrid Massacre on the 5th of March last, may be laid before the Town; so that such further Steps may be taken as shall be judged necessary, to counteract the Designs of those inveterate Enemies among us, who, there is reason to think, are still continuing their Misrepresentations, and using their Endeavours to increase the present unhappy Misunderstanding.[1]

IV.

Sundry Letters received by Cap^{t}. Gardner Master of the Packet taken up by the Town, in answer to those by him to our Friends in England, relative to the horred Massacre on 5th. of March last, were read to the Town —

The Article in the Warrant Viz^{t}. —

And that such further steps may be taken as shall be Judged necessary, to counteract the designs of those inveterate Enemies among us, who there is reason to think are still continuing their Misrepresentations, and using their Endeavours to increase the present unhappy misunderstanding between Great Britain and the Colonies —

was read and considered whereupon —

Voted, that The Hon^{ble}. Thomas Cushing Esq.
M^{r}. Samuel Adams
John Hancock Esq.
Richard Dana Esq.
M^{r}. William Phillips
M^{r}. William Mollineux
D^{r}. Joseph Warren
M^{r}. Ebenezer Storer
M^{r}. William Greenleaf

be a Committee to draw up a true state of the Town, and the conduct of the Commissioners since the 5th. of March last; and to Report the same at the Adjournment.[2]

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[1] Boston Evening Post of Monday, 9 July, 1770, No. 1815, p. 3/2.

[2] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xviii. 34.

V.

In the Ship Juno, Capt. Constant Freeman, arrived here since our last, from Bristol, came Passenger Capt. Andrew Gardner,[1] *who was sent by this Town last March with Dispatches concerning the horrid Massacre the 5th of that Month: It is said that Capt. Gardner's Arrival in England with the Narrative and Depositions from hence, was very timely: That thereupon the Ships and Troops, mentioned lately in this and the other Papers, to be coming here, were stopped: — Capt. Gardner was introduced by Mr. Trecothick to a Number of the Members of Parliament, who enquired of him what Knowledge he had of the Affair; and as he lived near the Place where the Affray began at the Rope-Walks, and was in King-Street when the Massacre happened, he related the whole in a very particular Manner: He brought Letters to the Committee from Governor Pownall, Mr. Trecothick, Mr. Bollan, Mrs. Maccauley, &c. A Meeting of the Inhabitants of the Town was called on Tuesday, at Faneuil-Hall; when the said Letters were read: — After which a Committee was chosen to enquire into the Transactions since the 5th of March; to counteract the Designs of those inveterate Enemies among us, who, there is Reason to think, are still continuing their Misrepresentations, and using their Endeavours to increase the present unhappy Misunderstanding between Great-Britain and the Colonies. — The Meeting was adjourned till To-Morrow, to Receive the Report of the Committee.*[2]

VI.

The Committee appointed the 10 Inst[t]. to draw up a true state of the Town and the conduct of the Commissioners of the Board of Customs since the 5[th]. of March last — Reported a draft of a Letter to be sent to our friends in England, and the same having been read and considered —

Voted, that said draft be accepted, and that the said Committee be desired to transmit fair Copys of said Letter to such Gentlemen in England as they shall think proper.[3]

VII.

At an Adjournment of the Meeting of this Town at Faneuil Hall on Friday last, the Committee reported a Draft of a Letter, design'd to prevent ill Impressions being made on the Minds of the People of

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[1] As already stated, Capt. Gardner reached Boston the sixth of July.

[2] Massachusetts Gazette of Thursday, 12 July, 1770, No. 3183, p. 2/1.

[3] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xviii. 34.

England, from certain Representations sent Home by our inveterate Enemies here, in the Lydia, Capt. Hood, which sail'd about a Fortnight ago.[1] Notice was also taken therein of a Paper printed in London, called the Case of Capt. *Thomas Preston*, giving an Account of the horrid Massacre of the fifth of March last, altogether different from the Truth, and manifestly with an Intent to prejudice the Town. The Draft was approv'd of by the Meeting, and Copies were order'd to be sent to such Gentlemen in England as the Committee should think proper; and they were accordingly put on board Capt. Hall's Vessel, which sail'd on Saturday Morning.[2]

VIII.

AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE.

The City of Boston's *Account of their Conduct to Capt.* Preston, *after the Massacre of* March *the 5th.*

WE were very apprehensive that all attempts would be made to gain an advantage against us; and as there is no reason to think that the malice of our enemies is in the least degree abated, it has been thought necessary, that our friends on your side the water should have a true state of the circumstances of the town, and of every thing which has materially occurred since the removal of the troops to the castle. For this purpose we are appointed a committee, but the time will not admit of our writing so fully by this conveyance, as we intend by the next.[3] In the mean time, we intreat your further friendship for the town, in your endeavours to get the judgment of the public suspended upon any representation that may have been made by the Commissioners of the Customs and others, until the town can have the opportunity of knowing what is alledged against it, and of answering for itself. We must confess, that we are astonished to hear that the Parliament have come to a determination to admit garbled extracts from such letters as may be received from America by Administration, and to conceal the names of the persons who may be the writers of them. This will certainly give great encouragement to persons of wicked intentions to abuse the nation, and injure the colonies in the grossest manner with impunity, or even without detection. For a confirmation hereof, we need to recur

[1] In the Massachusetts Gazette of Thursday, 5 July, 1770, No. 3482, it is stated that "*Tuesday last the Brig Lydia, Capt. Hood, sailed for London*" (p. 3/2).

[2] Boston Gazette of Monday, 16 July, 1770, No. 797, p. 2/3.

[3] If another letter was sent, I have been unable to find any trace of it.

no further than a few months, when undoubtedly the accounts and letters carried to Mr. —— would have been attended with very unhappy, if not fatal, effects, had not this town been so attentive as to have contradicted those false accounts by the depositions of many creditable persons under oath; but it cannot be supposed that a community will be so attentive, but on the most alarming events. In general, individuals are following their private concerns, while, it is to be feared, the restless adversaries are forming the most dangerous plans for the ruin of the reputation of the people, in order to build their own greatness on the destruction of their liberties. This game they have long been playing, and though in some few instances they have had a losing hand, yet they have commonly managed with such art, that they have so far succeeded in their malicious designs as to involve the nation and her colonies in confusion and distress. This it is presumed they never could have accomplished, had not these very letters been kept from the view of the public, with design perhaps to conceal the falsehood of them; the discovery of which would have prevented their having any mischievous effects. This is the game which we have reason to believe they are now playing with so much secrecy as may render it impossible for us fully to detect them on this side the water. How deplorable then must be our condition, if simple credit is to be given to their testimonies against us, by the Government at home; and if the names of our accusers are to be kept a profound secret, and the world is to see only such parts and parcels of their representations, as persons who perhaps may be interested in their favour shall think proper to hold up. Such a conduct, if allowed, seems to put it in the power of a combination of a few designing men to deceive a nation to its ruin. The measures which have been taken in consequence of intelligence managed with such secrecy, have already to a great degree lessened that mutual confidence which has ever subsisted between the mother country and her colonies, and must in the natural course of things totally alienate their affections, and consequently weaken, and in the end destroy, the power of the Empire. It is in this extended view of things that our minds are affected. It is from these apprehensions that we earnestly wish, that all communication between the two countries, of a public nature, may be unveiled before the public, with the names of the persons who are concerned therein: then, and not till then, will American affairs be under the direction of Honest Men, who are never afraid or ashamed of the light; and as we have abundant reason to be jealous that the most mischievous and virulent accounts have been very lately sent to Administration from Castle William, where the Commissioners have again retreated, for no other reason. that we can conceive,

but, after their former manner, to misrepresent and injure this town and province; we earnestly intreat that you would use your utmost influence to have an order passed, that the whole of the packets sent by the Commissioners of the Customs and others, under the care of one Mr. Bacon, late an Officer in the Customs of Virginia, who took his passage the last week in the brigantine Lydia, Joseph Hood commander, may be laid before his Majesty in Council. If the writers of those letters shall appear to be innocent, no harm can possibly arise from such a measure; if otherwise, it may be the means of exploring the true cause of a national and colonial malady, and of affording an easy remedy.

We have observed in the English papers the most notorious falshoods, published with an apparent design to give the world a prejudice against this town, as the aggressors in the unhappy transaction of the 5th of March, but no account has been more repugnant to the truth, than a paper printed in the Public Advertiser, of the 28th of April, which is called *The Case of Captain Preston.* —— As a Committee of this Town, we thought ourselves bound in faithfulness to wait on Captain Preston, to enquire of him, whether he was the author. He frankly told us, that he had drawn a state of his case, but that it had passed through different hands, and was altered at different times; and, finally, the publication in the Advertiser was varied from that which he sent home as his own. We then desired him to let us know, whether several parts, which we might point to him, and to which we took exception, were his own; but he declined satisfying us herein, saying, that the alterations were made by persons, who, he supposed, might aim at serving him, though he feared they might have a contrary effect, and that his discriminating to us the parts of it, which were his own, from those which had been altered by others, might displease his friends, at a time when he might stand in need of their essential service.—— This was the substance of the conversation between us, whereupon we retired, and wrote to Capt. Preston a letter, the copy of which is now enclosed.

The next day, not receiving an answer from Captain Preston, at the time we proposed, we sent him a message, desiring to be informed whether we might expect his answer: to which he replied, by a verbal message, as ours was, that he had nothing further to add to what he had said to us, the day before, as you'll please to observe by the inclosed certificate.

As therefore Captain Preston has utterly declined to make good the charges against the town, in the paper called His Case, or to let us know to whom we may apply as the author or authors of those parts which he might have disclaimed, and especially as the whole of his case

thus stated directly militates not only with his own letter published, under his hand, in the Boston Gazette, but with the depositions[1] of others annexed to our narrative which were taken; not behind the curtain, as some[2] may have been, but openly and fairly, after notifying the parties interested, and before magistrates to whose credit the governor of the province has given his full attestation under the province seal; we cannot think that the Paper, called The Case of Captain Thomas Preston, or any other Paper of the like import, can be deemed, in the opinion of the sensible and impartial part of mankind, as sufficient in the least degree to prejudice the character of the Town. It is therefore altogether needless for us to point out the many falsehoods contained in this paper, nor indeed would there be time for it at present for the reason above-mentioned.

We cannot, however, omit taking notice of the artifice made use of by those who drew up the state, in insinuating that it was the design of the people to plunder the king's chest; and for the more easily effecting that, to murder the centinel posted at the custom-house, where the money was lodged. This intelligence is said to have been brought to Capt. Preston, by a townsman, who assured him that he heard the mob declare they would murder the centinel. The townsman probably was one Greenwood, a servant to the Commissioners, whose deposition, number 96, is inserted among others in the narrative of the town, and of whom it is observed in a marginal note, that "through the whole of his examination he was so inconsistent, and so frequently contradicted himself, that all present were convinced that no credit ought to be given to his deposition; for which reason it would not have been inserted, had it not been known that a deposition was taken relative to this affair from Greenwood, by justice Murray, and carried home by Mr. Robinson;" and further, "this deponent is the only person, out of a great number of witnesses examined, who heard any thing mentioned of the custom-house."[3] Whether this part of the case of Capt. Preston was inserted by himself, or some other person, we are not told. It is very much to be questioned, whether information was given by any other than Greenwood himself; and the sort of character which he bears, is so well known to the commissioners, and their connections, some of whom

[1] These depositions were printed in A Short Narrative of The horrid Massacre in Boston, *&c.*, Boston, 1770, Appendix, pp. 1–77.

[2] Doubtless this is a reflection on the depositions which were printed in the Fair Account, *&c.*, Appendix, pp. 1–22.

[3] For the depositions of Greenwood, see the Short Narrative, Appendix, pp. 75–77; and the Fair Account, Appendix, pp. 12, 13.

properly assisted Capt. Preston in stating his case, as to have made them ashamed, if they regarded the truth, to have given the least credit to what he said. Whoever may have helped them to this intelligence, we will venture to say, that it never has been, and never can be supported by the testimony of any man of a tolerable reputation. We shall only observe upon this occasion, how inveterate our enemies here are, who, rather than omit what they might think a lucky opportunity of slandering the town, have wrought up a narrative, not only unsupported by, but contrary to the clearest evidence of facts, and have even prevailed upon an unhappy man, under pretence of friendship to him, to adopt it as his own; though they must have known, with a common share of understanding, that its being published to the world as his own, must have injured him, under his present circumstances, in the most tender point; and so shocked was Capt. Preston himself at its appearing in this light on this side the water, that he was immediately apprehensive so glaring a falsehood would raise the indignation of the people to such a pitch as to prompt them to some attempts that would be dangerous to him, and he accordingly applied to Mr. Sheriff Greenleaf for special protection on that account. But the sheriff assuring him there was no such disposition appearing among the people, (which is an undoubted truth) Capt. Preston's fears at length subsided;[1] and he still remains in safe custody, to be tried by the superior court of judicature, at the next term in August, unless the judges shall think proper further to postpone the trial, as they have done for one whole term, since he was indicted by the Grand Jury.[2]

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[1] On the twenty-second of June, Gov. Hutchinson wrote: —

I will take every precaution which is in my power, which I wish was greater than it is.

On this letter was indorsed the following note: —

In answer to a letter informing him that the towns-people of Boston, since seeing Cap. Preston's printed case, threatened his life (1 Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for January, 1862, v. 361).

In the Narrative and Critical History of America, Justin Winsor said: —

In June, 1770, it would seem that Hutchinson's life was threatened because of the passions aroused by the massacre, and there is in the Mass. Hist. Soc. library (*Misc. MSS.*, 1632–1795) a brief note of his written on being advised to protect himself, dated June 22, 1770, at Milton (vi. 88).

From the document given in the text it seems clear that the person whose life was threatened was not Hutchinson but Preston.

[2] The trial of Capt. Preston, as appears from the following extracts, began

Before we conclude, it may not be improper to observe, that the removal of the troops was in the slowest order; insomuch, that eleven days were spent in carrying the two regiments to Castle-Island, which had before landed in the town in less than forty-eight hours. Yet in all this time, while the number of the troops was daily lessening, not the least disorder was made by the inhabitants, though filled with a just indignation and horror at the blood of their fellow-citizens so inhumanly spilt. And since their removal, the common soldiers have frequently, and every day come up to the town for necessary provisions; and some of the officers, as well as several of the families of the soldiers, have resided in the town, and done business therein without the least molestation; yet so hardy have our enemies been as to report in London, that the enraged populace had hanged up Capt. Preston.

The strange and irreconcileable conduct of the Commissioners of the Customs since March 5; their applying for leave to retire to the castle, so early as the 10th; and spending their time in making excursions into the country, till the 20th of June following, together with other material circumstances, are the subject of our present enquiry; the result of

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on the twenty-fourth of October, and the jury returned a verdict on the thirtieth. See also Publications of this Society, v. 64, 65, 82.

I.

Last Friday [7 September] Capt. Preston, with the Soldiers and others who were indicted for the Murders committed in Kingstreet on the Evening of the 5th of March last, were arraigned at the Bar of the Superior Court and Court of Assize, &c. now sitting here, and severally pleaded not Guilty: but their Trial, we hear, is put off till the 23d Day of October next (Boston Evening Post of Monday, 10 September, 1770, No. 1824, p. 3/2).

II.

The Superior Court of Judicature, &c. met at the Court-House in this Town on Tuesday [23 October] last, according to Adjournment, for the Trial of Criminal Cases — The Trial of Capt. Preston began next Morning about Nine o'Clock, and is not yet finished (Boston Gazette of Monday, 29 October, 1770, No. 812, p. 3/1).

III.

In our last we mentioned that at the Superior Court held here, on Wednesday began the Trial of Capt. Thomas Preston, of the 29th Regiment, . . . The Examination of Evidences and the Pleas, were continued from Wednesday, each Day, (Lord's Day excepted) until Monday; when the Judges summed up the Evidences, and gave the Charges to the Jury. The Jury went out about five o'Clock, and it is said agreed by eight: — The Court was adjourned till the next Morning at 8 o'Clock, at which Time they brought in the Verdict, "NOT GUILTY;" and Capt. Preston was dismissed (*Ibid.* of Monday, 5 November, 1770, No. 813, p. 2/3).

which you will be made acquainted with by the next conveyance. In the mean time, we remain with strict truth, Sir,

Your much obliged, and most obedient servants,

THOMAS CUSHING,	WM. PHILIPS,
RICH. DANA,	W. MOLINEUX,
SAM. ADAMS,	EBENEZER STORER,
JOHN HANCOCK,	WM. GREENLEAF.

To the HON. GOV. POWNALL.[1]

Wednesday, A. M. July 11, 1770.

(COPY.)

SIR,

IN the interview we, as a committee of the town of Boston, had with you yesterday, you may remember we told you we were disposed to consider you as a man of too much honour to be the author of the publication, printed in London the 28th of April, called, The Case of Capt. Thomas Preston, and the letter to the Public in the Boston Gazette of the 12th of March, as those papers directly militate with each other: the letter we refer to is as follows:

Boston Gaol, Monday, March 12, 1770.

Messrs EDES and GILL.

PERMIT me, through the channel of your paper, to return my thanks in the most public manner to the inhabitants in general of this town, who throwing aside all party and prejudice, have, with the utmost humanity and freedom, stepped forth advocates for truth, in defence of my injured innocence, in the late unhappy affair that happened on Monday night last; and to assure them that I shall ever have the highest sense of the justice they have done me, which will be ever gratefully remembered by their much obliged, and most obedient humble servant,

THOMAS PRESTON.

In the course of our conversation you informed us, that the state of the case published was very different from what you first wrote, that your account of that unhappy affair was put into several hands here at different times, and much altered by the persons to whose judgment

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[1] It is not known to how many persons in England this Statement was sent, but among them were Pownall and Franklin. No doubt it was through Pownall himself, either directly or indirectly, that the Statement appeared in the Political Register. See Pownall's letter of 11 May, 1770, p. 213, below.

you submitted; and that it now appears different from the paper which you last saw, and which you finally determined to send home as the state of your case, but you declined pointing out the particular alterations which have been made, because you supposed those alterations were made by your friends with a design to serve you, and you were apprehensive that by particularizing the passages altered, you might give some offence. We are very sensible of the delicacy of your situation, and would by no means urge you to any thing which might lessen the number or influence of your friends; but as we know that a conspiracy has long been formed against the rights and liberties of the people, and more especially of this town, and as we have the fullest proof of the most gross misrepresentations having been sent home to his Majesty and the Ministry, we cannot avoid requesting you, in behalf of the town, to explain, as far as you are able, some parts of that case published; and as we shall forbear touching upon any thing which has an immediate connection with your conduct in that affair, we think you cannot, consistent with your honour, suffer a paper published in your name, containing such injurious charges against a community, to pass unnoticed, when an explanation is desired by the persons affected.

The Case, as it is called, sets forth, "That the inhabitants have ever used all means in their power to weaken the regiments, and to bring them into contempt, by promoting and aiding desertions, and with impunity, even where there has been the clearest evidence of the fact." We desire, if it is in your power, that you would point out one instance, where there has been clear proofs of any person's having aided or promoted the desertion of any soldiers from the regiments in this town. It is asserted, "that on the arrival of the 64th and 65th regiments the ardour seemed to abate, but upon their being ordered away it began to revive." For our parts, we observed no such abatement or revival, and cannot but wish to be informed how it became known to the author of the Case. But the most cruel charge which malice and guile could form against an innocent community, is contained in the following paragraph: "The insolence, as well as utter hatred of the inhabitants to the troops increased daily, insomuch that Monday and Tuesday the 5th and 6th inst. were agreed on for a general engagement: in consequence of which several of the Militia came from the country armed to join their friends, menacing to destroy any who should oppose them. This plan has since been discovered."

Is it possible for you, Sir, or any person on earth, to produce the least shadow of proof to support this barbarous accusation? If it is, we beg it may no longer be concealed from us, and we hope, if this is not one of those alterations above-mentioned, that you will inform us

how it appears that such a plan was ever formed or even thought of; this cannot but be judged highly reasonable, as it is of the greatest importance to the Public, and can have no effect upon your private concern. If it is one of those alterations, we should be very glad to know whom we may apply to as the author.

We think the state of the case is, in many other respects, very exceptionable, but shall omit taking notice of any thing more at this time, as we would do nothing which might be detrimental to you, nor should we have troubled you at all in your present disagreeable circumstances, had we known any other method of coming to the knowledge of our accusers.

If we receive no answer to this by to-morrow ten o'clock, we shall conclude you have nothing to offer in defence of the passages referred to in the paper circulated as the Case of Captain Thomas Preston.

We are, Sir, your most humble servants,

THOMAS CUSHING,
RICHARD DANA,
SAMUEL ADAMS,
JOHN HANCOCK,
WILLIAM PHILLIPS,
WILLIAM MOLINEUX,
E. STORER.

Capt. Thomas Preston.

Boston County Gaol-House, July 12, 1770.

THIS may certify that Mr. Williston, Door-keeper to the Select-men, yesterday noon brought me a letter from the Committee of the Town of Boston, then sitting at Faneuil-Hall, directed to Capt. Thomas Preston, which I did immediately deliver him; and that Mr. Molineux, one of the said committee, came this morning about 11 o'clock, desiring I would ask Captain Preston whether he had or would give an answer to the said letter, upon which I waited on Capt. Preston with the said message, who made for answer, that he had not, nor should not, give any answer — he had nothing more to say than what he had said to the Committee yesterday.

JOSEPH OTIS,[1] *Deputy Gaol Keeper.*[2]

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[1] Concerning Joseph Otis, see Publications of this Society, v. 61-63, 264.

[2] The Political Register for October, 1770, vii. 221-228. The only allusion I have found to this document is in Wells's Life of Samuel Adams, where we read: —

Mr. MATTHEWS announced that he had in preparation new lists of the Addressers of Gage and of Hutchinson, and remarked upon the inaccuracy and incompleteness of previous compilations of these names, mentioning several instances in which, in consequence, the identity of Addressers had been lost or obscured.

Mr. HENRY H. EDES said: —

A short time ago, I had occasion to go to Ipswich to make an examination of the early manuscript records of that ancient town. While making my search, my eye fell upon an entry relating to the payment of money, in 1642, to Samuel Symonds, then a representative from Ipswich to the General Court, who was made an Assistant the next year, and who, in 1673, succeeded John Leverett as Deputy-Governor upon Leverett's elevation to the Chief Magistracy. Symonds was one of the principal gentlemen of Ipswich, and came of an ancient family in the English Essex, where he early allied himself, matrimonially, with the Harlakenden family. He died in office on the twelfth of October, 1678.

Among Samuel Adams's papers are found detached portions of a letter in his handwriting to Benjamin Franklin, prepared for a committee, of which he was one, appointed by the town to disabuse the minds of influential persons in England of the false statements sent on by the crown officers as to the Massacre and subsequent events. It is dated in Boston on the 13th of July, and Franklin is urged to exert himself and obtain a suspension of public opinion, until the town could have an opportunity of knowing what was alleged against it and of answering for itself. It protested against the determination of Parliament to admit garbled extracts from such letters as were received from America by the administration and to conceal the names of the writers (i. 345).

Wells then goes on to quote twenty-five lines which, with a few slight differences, agree with the corresponding lines in our text, beginning with the words "How deplorable then must be our condition."

The feeling against Preston and the soldiers was intensely bitter, and had their trials taken place soon after the riot it would probably have gone hard with them. John Adams complained that for years the people of Boston did not forget or forgive his share in the defence of the accused (Works, ii. 229–236, 307, 317, ix. 352, 551, 617, x. 162, 166, 201, 203); and the verdicts rendered, however much they may now be commended, caused great discontent at the time. This was voiced by Samuel Adams in a series of articles which, under the signature of Vindex, were printed in the Boston Gazette of 10, 17, 24, 31 December, 1770, and 7, 14, 21, 28 January, 1771, Nos. 818–825. It is in the last three of these articles that Adams pays special attention to the Case of Capt. Preston.

In the account to which I have just referred — of money paid to Mr. Symonds for various services — we find these items: —

xs he paid to Mr. Endicott for the Towne, for the coppy of the body of lawes,

3s for six coppies delivered to Mr. Gardiner.[1]

This record is dated 29 December, 1642.

It is known to every gentleman present that no printed copy of the Body of Liberties of 1641, or of the first edition of the Laws, published in 1649, is known to be extant. Every item, therefore, which in any way relates to either of these publications is of interest and worthy of being printed.

I have copied the following passages from the Massachusetts Colony Records and from Winthrop's History of New England, which show what legislation was enacted in 1641 and 1642 concerning these earliest publications of our Laws. It is also interesting to note, that the Rev. Nathaniel Ward, the author of the Body of Liberties, had been the minister of the Ipswich church, with which Symonds was long connected.

At the General Court, 7 October, 1641, —

The Governor [Bellingham] and Mr. Hawthorne were desired to speak to Mr. Ward for a Copy of the Liberties and of the Capital laws to be transcribed and sent to the several towns (Records, i. 340).

Subsequently, at the same Court, under the date of 10 December, 1641, is the following entry: —

Mr. Deputy Endicot, Mr. Downing, and Mr. Hawthorne are authorized to get nineteen Copies of the Laws, Liberties and the forms of oaths transcribed and subscribed by their several hands, and none to be authentic but such as they subscribe, and to be paid for by the Constable of each Town, ten shillings a piece for each copy, and to be prepared within six weeks (Records, i. 344).

Finally, at the end of this session, on the original record, is the written attestation of Governor Winthrop as follows: —

At this Court, the bodye of laws formerly sent forth among the Freemen, etc., was voted to stand in force, etc. (Records, i. 346).

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[1] The reference is probably to Edmund Gardner (see Felt's History of Ipswich, Essex and Hamilton, pp. 11, 97).

Winthrop writes in regard to the General Court of December, 1641, as follows: —

This session continued three weeks, and established one hundred laws, which were called the Body of Liberties. They had been composed by Mr. Nathaniel Ward (some time pastor of the church of Ipswich: he had been a minister in England and formerly a student and a practiser in the course of the common law) and had been revised and altered by the Court and sent forth into every town to be further considered of, and now again in this Court, they were revised, amended and presented, and so established for three years, by that experience to have them fully amended and established to be perpetual (History, 1853, ii. 66).

The General Court ordered, 14 June, 1642 —

That the Governor [Winthrop], Mr. Bellingham and the Secretary [Nowell], with the deputies of Boston, shall examine and survey the orders of this last Court, and perfect the same for the publishing (Records, ii 21).

[Also,] That such laws as make any offence to be capital shall forthwith be imprinted and published, of which laws the Secretary is to send a copy to the printer, when it hath been examined by the Governor or Mr. Bellingham with himself, and the treasurer to pay for the printing of them (Records, ii. 22).

On the twenty-seventh of September, 1642 —

It is ordered, that every Court should have a copy of the laws at the public charge (Records, ii. 28).

It thus appears, that the copy of the Body of Laws for which Symonds paid Mr. Endicott ten shillings was, doubtless, one of the nineteen copies ordered by the General Court, 10 December, 1641, to be made and attested for the use of the several towns in the Colony; while the "six coppies" for which the modest price of three shillings was paid, were, probably, of the impression ordered by the Court on the fourteenth of June, 1642, of "such laws as make any offence to be capital."

Mr. ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS expressed sympathy with the feeling which had induced Mr. Edes to copy these extracts, and referred to a statement which he had recently seen in one of the volumes of the Calendar of State Papers,[1]

[1] The statement referred to by Mr. Davis is to be found in The Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1661-1668, No. 45, pp. 15, 16, as follows: —

to the effect that a volume of the Laws in force in Massachusetts had been submitted for inspection by some person who appeared before some of the public officials in England, in 1660 or 1661. As he remembered the date at which this person left the Colony, this volume might have been the first edition of the laws, although he felt sure that the event occurred at such a time as to make it possible that it was, after all, the second edition, — that which was published in 1660. The mere chance that we were here on the track of a copy of the original Book of Laws had made an impression upon him, and he alluded to it on the present occasion merely to show how much interest those who followed these matters up took in entries of the class of those communicated by Mr. Edes.

In the course of the discussion which followed the remarks of Mr. Davis, reference was made to the contest which was formerly waged between Dr. Moore and Mr. Whitmore, as to whether the first edition of the laws was to be cited as the Laws of 1648, or the Laws of 1649. On the one hand,

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Capt. Thos. Breedon to the Council for Foreign Plantations (March 11) 1661. Relation of the state of affairs in New England at his coming from thence in 1660. Having been summoned to appear before the Council this 11th of March 1661 to give information of the condition and Government of the several Colonies of New England, he herewith presents in the first place this book of laws of the Massachusetts Colony.

He then refers to the letter[1] of the Colony to his Majesty of December last, concerning which he says: —

Has not seen their petition, but questions their allegiance to the King, because they have not proclaimed him, they do not act in his name, and they do not give the oath of allegiance, but force an oath of fidelity to themselves and their Government, as in Book of Laws, pp. 62, 63, 68, and 84.[2]

The date, the eleventh of March, 1661, in this abstract is new style. Breedon refers to events in the Colony as late as December, 1660, and he may have been here in January. This 1660 edition was issued in October. Three of the page references can be easily identified in this edition. This reference cannot be reasonably connected with the original edition of the book of laws.

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[1] Dated 19 December, 1660 (Massachusetts Colony Records, iv. Part I., 449–453).

[2] The communication is printed in full in Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, iii. 39, 40.

we have Hutchinson's statement that "in the year 1648" they were "then first printed,"[1] — a statement corroborated by the contemporary evidence of Johnson's Wonder Working Providence[2] and Josselyn's Observations,[3] and further confirmed by the memorandum relating to one of Dunster's suits communicated by Mr. Davis to the American Antiquarian Society and printed in its Proceedings for April, 1888 (pp. 299, 300). On the other hand, we have the conclusion of Mr. Whitmore that the title-page of the 1660 edition, bearing the words "published by the same Authority in the General Court holden at *Boston*, in *May*, 1649," was taken from the original edition and allowed to stand substantially unaltered. The evidence seems conclusive that the laws were printed in 1648, and Mr. Whitmore's conclusion that they were not issued until May, 1649, seems reasonable.[4]

Mr. TOPPAN mentioned that Secretary Rawson's own copy of the laws of the Massachusetts Bay, of the folio edition of 1660, is now in the Library of the American Antiquarian Society. In it Rawson wrote his name several times, — "Edward Rawson his book."

President WHEELWRIGHT then addressed the Society in these words: —

We are assembled to-day on the eve of the one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of the Battle of Lexington and Concord Fight. It had become a custom with our late lamented associate

[1] History of Massachusetts Bay, 1764, i. 437.

[2] Poole's edition, p. 206.

[3] Two Voyages to New-England, 1674 (Boston, 1865), p. 200. Josselyn's entry is after 30 January, 1648–49, from which it may be inferred that the laws were printed between 30 January and 24 March, 1648–49. Hence, 1648 and 1649 may each be correct, the particular year being dependent upon whether the writer is using Old Style or New Style.

[4] *Cf.* Corey's History of Malden, p. 176 and *note*.

the Reverend Edward G. Porter, on the yearly recurrence of this anniversary, to give the Society an informal talk rather than a set lecture or paper on the occurrences of that eventful day, the nineteenth of April, 1775. It was a subject with which he was pre-eminently familiar, having studied it for years on the spot. It is a matter of lasting regret that he never reduced to writing, as he fully intended to do, those most interesting and instructive utterances, with reproductions of the maps and sketches by which they were illustrated.

It is with no intention of supplying Mr. Porter's place on this occasion, but rather to recall to mind what we lost in losing him, that I venture to follow humbly in his footsteps — to glean a little where he has richly harvested — by saying a few words about an incident of the first battle of the Revolution which I do not remember to have heard him mention, and with which my own family history appears to be, perhaps rather remotely, connected.

The story is told by several historians of the battle with varying and sometimes contradictory particulars, but all are agreed in this: that on the afternoon of the day on which the British regulars had begun their retreat from Concord, but before they had reached West Cambridge, or Menotomy as it was then called, a party of twelve soldiers sent out from Boston with stores and supplies for the retreating troops was intercepted and captured by a party of Americans in Menotomy; and that one or more of the soldiers and several of their horses were killed or wounded, while others of the men ran for their lives toward Spy Pond. Cutter, in his History of Arlington, subjoins the following note: —

> The following story related by Smith concerning this affair, and regarded by many as apocryphal, is still worthy of preservation as a curiosity. The guards in fleeing followed the westerly shore of Spy Pond, till, near Spring Valley, they met an old woman, named Batherick, digging dandelions, to whom they surrendered themselves, asking her protection. She led them to the house of Capt. Ephraim Frost, and gave them up to a party of our men, saying to her prisoners, "If you ever live to get back, you tell King George that an old woman took six of his grenadiers prisoners." The squib went the rounds of the English opposition papers, "If one old Yankee woman can take six grenadiers, how many soldiers will it require to conquer America?" (p. 63).

Mr. Samuel Adams Drake, in his Historic Mansions and Highways around Boston,[1] says that, in spite of the seeming improbability "of Mother Batherick calmly digging early greens" under such exciting circumstances, "the relation being authenticated by persons of high credibility" he is inclined to believe it. At all events, there seems to be no doubt that there was an old woman named Batherick living in Menotomy at that time. In fact, there were several of the name. According to the fragmentary genealogies in Paige, Cutter and Wyman,[2] the one in whom we are interested appears to have been Ruth (Hook), the widow of John Batherick (born 12 May, 1702, died 3 June, 1769), who died in the almshouse 14 September, 1795, at the age of seventy-eight. This would seem to make the date of her birth 1717 and her age on the nineteenth of April, 1775, fifty-eight, — not a very advanced age. Her husband, by a former wife Elizabeth, had a son John Batherick, baptized 8 November, 1730, who had, among other children, Phebe, born 21 August, 1757, who died, unmarried, at Brighton in 1837.[3]

At the time of the battle, this Phebe Batherick was servant or "help" in the family of John Wilson, then residing at Menotomy, who was the father of my grandmother, Susanna (Wilson) Wheelwright, wife of Lot Wheelwright, Senior. According to the family tradition, Phebe had been bound out to John Wilson at the age of seven years. At the time of the battle she was eighteen. She remained, apparently, with the family of my great-grandfather Wilson until some years before his death, in 1815, when she was transferred to that of his son-in-law Lot Wheelwright, my grandfather, who, in an entry in his Journal under date of the first of January, 1838, in mentioning her death, which took place in his house in February, 1837, says that she had been a faithful domestic in his family for more than forty years. This would indicate that her entrance into his family occurred about 1797, which nearly corresponds with the birth-date of his eldest child, John Tower Wheelwright, 1 February, 1795. In my grand-

[1] Edition of 1899, p. 403.

[2] See Paige's History of Cambridge, pp. 404, 405, 409, 485, 486; Cutter's History of Arlington, pp. 191, 192, 262; and Wyman's Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown, i. 68, 69.

[3] Paige's History of Cambridge, p. 485.

father's family, as in that of John Wilson, her chief employment had been the care of the children.

While a boy, I used frequently to see her, especially when, about 1830-1835, my father's family and that of his father occupied together the house originally built by Wiggin on Nonantum Hill, Newton. Phebe was then very old and looked still older, being bent nearly double. I cannot remember ever seeing her do any kind of work except that of compounding a nauseous liquid which she called dire [?diet] drink and in which dandelions was one of the ingredients. She always carried a stick or cane when out of doors and wore in summer a man's broad-brimmed straw hat. She wore also what I heard called a "bed gown." Thus accoutred she was fond of accompanying the third generation of children of the family, — myself and my brother and cousins — or rather, getting them to accompany her, on expeditions through all the fields and woods in the neighborhood in search of herbs of all kinds — I especially remember gold-thread — and in the autumn to gather nuts. She often talked of Concord Fight, as she always called it, but what she said related wholly to her own personal experience. She told how, in the morning, she was sent to hide the silver spoons on the small island in Spy Pond which belonged to the Wilsons and afterward to pack the children in a cart and convey them to a place of safety in the woods. Among these children was my grandmother Wheelwright, then about four years old.[1] She returned home with the cartload of children in the evening, meeting with no adventures by the way, so far as I remember, except seeing a dead Red Coat lying beside a brook to which he had crawled to quench his thirst before dying; but what she especially dilated upon was the condition of the house she had left in the morning. The Regulars on their retreat through the town had broken into it — boards had been nailed up over the lower windows before it was abandoned by the family — and everything was turned topsy-turvy, barrels of beer, hogsheads of rum and molasses set abroad on the floor (Mr. Wilson seems to have kept a small shop) and flour, meal and kitchen implements scattered over the whole. Smith, in his list of houses plundered and

[1] Susanna, daughter of John and Susanna (Payne) Wilson, was born 8, baptized 14, April, 1771 (Cutter's History of Arlington, p. 323).

sacked in Menotomy, does not mention by name that of John Wilson, but the scene of destruction described in one whose owner's name he does not give, corresponds exactly with Phebe's description.[1]

Mr. WILLIAM WATSON GOODWIN commented upon some points in the PRESIDENT'S remarks, especially upon his reference to bed-gowns.

The PRESIDENT announced that Mr. SAMUEL SWETT GREEN had been appointed by the Council to write the Memoir of the Rev. Edward G. Porter, and the Rev. EDWARD H. HALL that of George O. Shattuck.

The Rev. EDWARD HALE of Cambridge and Mr. HENRY LEE HIGGINSON of Boston were elected Resident Members.

[1] Samuel Abbot Smith's West Cambridge on the Nineteenth of April, 1775, pp. 40, 41.

NOTE.

In the Case of Capt. Thomas Preston there is an error which, though slight, it is perhaps worth while to correct. In one place (p. 7), Preston speaks of a fracas which took place on the second of March at "one Gray's Rope-Walk," while a little later (p. 9) he states that on the fifth of March "three unhappy Men instantly expired, in which Number was Mr. Gray, at whose Rope-Walk the prior Quarrel took place." The owner of the rope-walk was John Gray, while the person killed on the fifth was one of his workmen, Samuel Gray.

SPECIAL MEETING OF THE COUNCIL,

10 MAY, 1900.

A SPECIAL MEETING of the Council was held in the office of John Noble, Esq., Clerk of the Supreme Judicial Court, in the Court House, Boston, on Thursday, 10 May, 1900, at two o'clock in the afternoon, to take action upon the death of President WHEELWRIGHT, which occurred yesterday morning.

Present, Messrs. Henry Herbert Edes, Frederick Lewis Gay, John Noble, James Bradley Thayer, Samuel Lothrop Thorndike, and Robert Noxon Toppan.

The Second Vice-President, JAMES BRADLEY THAYER, LL.D., occupied the chair.

In the absence of the Recording Secretary, Mr. EDES was chosen Recording Secretary *pro tempore*.

Mr. THORNDIKE offered the following Minute, which was unanimously adopted by a rising vote: —

The Council of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, called together suddenly upon the death of the PRESIDENT, wish to express their deep sense of the blow which has fallen upon them and of the great loss which the Society has suffered.

EDWARD WHEELWRIGHT was elected a member of the Society at the First Stated Meeting of the Founders. He has been one of the Council since November, 1895, and President since February, 1897. He brought to our service a lifelong fondness for antiquarian and biographical research, and during his whole membership he has promoted our welfare with unfailing interest and sincere attachment. But it is not for these things alone that he will live in our memory. We shall recall his cheerful fellowship at the Council board, the simple dignity with which he presided at the meetings of our Society, and his genial humor on all festive occasions.

His career was uneventful. An intelligent traveller, a student and critic of art, a lover of literature, a cultivated gentleman, a member

of many social clubs and learned societies, he passed a happy and contented life of unpretentious usefulness. If he had been asked to name his most important work, he would probably have mentioned the Annals of the Harvard Class of 1844. These are, indeed, in their biographical and genealogical fulness, a model of what a Class Record should be, and are an important contribution to the history of the last half-century. That distinguished Class has given no less than seven members to our Society. Wheelwright joined in our tribute to the memory of six of these, — Gould, Saltonstall, Slade, Hale, Sears, and Parkman. We mournfully bid him farewell as the last survivor of the seven.

Voted, That attested copies of this Minute be sent to Mrs. Wheelwright and to Mr. Henry A. Wheelwright.

Voted, That the Council will attend as a body the funeral of our late President, in King's Chapel, to-morrow.

Voted, That a Special Meeting of the Society be called during the present month on a date to be fixed by the two Secretaries.

The Chair appointed Messrs. ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS, CHARLES CARROLL EVERETT, AUGUSTUS LOWELL, JOHN LATHROP, ARTHUR THEODORE LYMAN, CHARLES PICKERING BOWDITCH, and RICHARD MIDDLECOTT SALTONSTALL a Committee to draught appropriate Resolutions to be submitted to the Society for its consideration at the Special Meeting to be held in memory of Mr. Wheelwright.

SPECIAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY,

28 MAY, 1900.

A SPECIAL MEETING of the Society was held at No. 25 Beacon Street, Boston, on Monday, 28 May, 1900, at three o'clock in the afternoon.

On the President's desk stood a large photograph of Mr. WHEELWRIGHT, taken on the seventy-fifth anniversary of his birth, draped with smilax, and beside it lay a bunch of forget-me-nots.

In the absence of Vice-President WILLIAM WATSON GOODWIN, who was absent from the Commonwealth, and of Vice-President JAMES BRADLEY THAYER, who was detained at his house by illness, Mr. WILLIAM TAGGARD PIPER was called to the chair.

The CHAIRMAN announced the death of President WHEELWRIGHT, and called upon Mr. ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS, who, on behalf of the Committee on Resolutions, appointed by the Council, submitted the following Minute: —

The Members of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts desire to place upon their Records an expression of their gratitude for the services of their late President, EDWARD WHEELWRIGHT, of their esteem for him as a man, and of their sorrow for his death, which took place on the ninth of May, 1900.

It was nearly three and one-half years ago that the members of this Society were shocked by the news of the sudden death of their first President. The conditions which confronted whoever might succeed him in that office were such as would have caused many persons to shrink from assuming the attendant responsibilities. Lacking endowment, and with its Roll of Membership

still incomplete, the Society had nevertheless gained a reputation for activity, a part of which had unquestionably been acquired from communications secured through the personal influence of Dr. Gould. Unless this activity could be maintained, the future of the Society could not be developed along the lines which his ambitious hopes had prescribed.

We have met to-day to pay tribute to the memory of the man who had the courage to meet this emergency. The suggestion of Edward Wheelwright as the proper man to fill the vacancy in the office of President was an inspiration. His uneventful life was in striking contrast with the brilliant career of his predecessor; but if no foreign Societies pronounce his eulogy, far stronger evidence of his personal worth is to be found in the affectionate remembrance in which his name is held by all with whom he had to do in daily life. He was a singularly guileless man, contact with whom left an impression of the innocence of childhood. This may be attributed in part to his upright, straightforward manliness of character, and partly to the fact that he had led an easy life, free from the cares and struggles which make men suspicious and distrustful. Although admitted to the Bar. he neither craved the excitement of an active professional career nor sought an outlet for ambition through political preferment. He neither sought for office of any sort nor shirked the performance of such duties as were imposed upon him by his fellowmen, but was content to live in retirement the life of a cultivated gentleman. He was for many years the Secretary of his College Class, and took great pains in securing a record of the career of his classmates. He was happy in his domestic relations, but the union which was in all other respects so perfect was not blessed with offspring.

When elected President of this Society, Mr. Wheelwright shrank, with characteristic modesty, from the responsibilities thus sought to be imposed upon him, but finally yielded to the persuasion of his friends. Except for his loyalty to this Society, persuasion and pressure would have been useless; but his interest in our affairs had grown with his attendance at our meetings, and his appreciation of the existing crisis made him amenable to the argument that if the Society was to live and prosper, it must have a President who believed in it and would work for it. Once

seated in the chair of office, his confidence in himself and his faith in the future of the Society increased, and he brought to the performance of his duties a zeal which more than redeemed the faith which justified his selection for the place.

From the time of his election by the Council as President down to the time of his death, Mr. Wheelwright continued to serve as President. Under his administration the Roll of active members was soon filled up; with his cordial assistance and hearty co-operation a Publication Fund was raised as a Memorial to his predecessor; through his generosity burdensome debts were discharged. Thus the Society has been brought to a condition which will entirely free his successor in office from the demands for courage which were imposed upon him. For these services the Society will ever be grateful, and those of our members who have profited by attendance at the meetings over which he presided will always carry with them a pleasant memory of his dignified deportment and benignant presence.

"Men of courage, men of sense, and men of letters are frequent; but a true gentleman is what one seldom sees."

Mr. ABNER C. GOODELL paid an affectionate tribute to the memory of Mr. Wheelwright.

Mr. S. LOTHROP THORNDIKE then said: —

When one who has been known by many men in the ordinary currents of social life, by a smaller number in some personal relation of affairs, by a few intimately, — one who has passed a placid existence unmarked by important events or notable enterprises, and has at last, in the fulness of years, gone from us, the words that we may speak in his memory must all be in the same tone. They can only be words of sorrow and regret for a friendship that has passed into recollection, a companionship that has been severed, a worthy and amiable life that has finished its earthly career.

We have sometimes had occasion in this Society to pronounce the eulogy of an eminent man of science, a learned judge, a great statesman, a man distinguished in commerce, or finance, or political economy, or classical learning, or historical research. The task is easy then. We have only to say, Think what he has

done! think what the world has lost! But in cases like that which we are now met to reflect upon, — and we have had many, too many of them, — we can only say, Think what *we* have lost!

> "For some we loved, the loveliest and the best
> That from his vintage rolling Time has pressed,
> Have drunk their cup an hour or two before,
> And one by one crept silently to rest."

I feel, too, that I ought to listen rather than to speak on this occasion, because I knew President Wheelwright so little, and for so short a time, — never at all, indeed, until I met him here. And since my first acquaintance I have hardly met him in any other place than this except, occasionally, in the St. Botolph Club, of which we both were members. But the acquaintance was easy to form, and once formed was one of the pleasantest that I have ever known. At one time, indeed, I had much to do with him. It was when I was preparing a Memoir of our first President, who had been Wheelwright's classmate in college. The help that I got from him, and the familiarity that I acquired with all his college contemporaries, made me feel as if I had known the Class of 1844 all my life.

When a man not older than Wheelwright dies there are almost always, in every circle like this of ours, those who can furnish recollections of his childhood and youth. Once or twice since his death, I have met men who spoke of him regretfully as Ned Wheelwright, but they were not members of our Colonial Society. Here we have none such, except, indeed, his cousin, and perhaps one other of our associates a good many years older than he.

It is noteworthy that when this Society was formed, seven years ago, there were three men of the Class of 1844 among its Charter members. Three more were added from that Class at the first Stated Meeting, and a seventh at the second Stated Meeting. It is very hard to realize and sad to remember that in this short space of seven years, all these men have died, Wheelwright being the latest survivor. We have now, I think, no one in the Society who could have been in college with him except his cousin, of whom I have spoken, of the Class of 1847, — no one older, in point of graduation, except Henry Williams, of the Class of 1837. I speak of Wheelwright thus, in connection with

Harvard College, almost as if this were a meeting of Harvard graduates, because it must needs be that a society like ours, existing here in Boston, must draw largely upon Harvard for its membership; and also for another reason: that he had spent so much time — one might almost say so many years — upon the annals of his College Class.

The Resolutions passed by our Council speak of these Annals as an important contribution to history. The phrase seems to me not exaggerated. I think that the historian of to-day, if he could find such annals of a class graduated a hundred years ago, would esteem them as a rare treasure, and that the historian of a hundred years hence will find ample material to draw upon in Wheelwright's full details of the lives of the men of 1844.

I need not dwell upon President Wheelwright's usefulness to this Society. His contributions to our proceedings, though themselves of value, are perhaps second in importance to the interest in and attachment to our work which he manifested himself and imparted to others. Others will speak of this. To us who have known him in the informal gatherings at the Council board, the thing that we shall miss will be the gracious presence, the cheerful greeting, the genial humor, the apt anecdote of travel, the expert criticism upon art. It is there, even more than in the President's chair at our Stated Meetings, that we shall find his place not easy to fill.

Mr. Davis, having been called upon, then said that he was glad to avail himself of an opportunity to say a few words concerning the pleasant relations which had existed between Mr. Wheelwright and himself, his only regret being that they would necessarily be somewhat informal, since he had supposed that the presentation of the Report of the Committee on Resolutions would prevent him from participating further in the proceedings of the day. His acquaintance with Mr. Wheelwright merely covered the life of this Society, being based originally upon a strong sympathy with the affectionate esteem in which Dr. Gould held his classmate and friend, and, later, upon the surer foundation of an

appreciative knowledge of the uniformly courteous manner in which Mr. Wheelwright treated those with whom he had dealings, whether their sentiments were in accord with his or not. No person had mentioned to-day, what was easily to be traced,—the steady growth of Mr. Wheelwright's interest in the actual work of this Society, and, simultaneously, in all work of kindred nature. Up to the time of the organization of this Society, Mr. Wheelwright had not done any historical or biographical work, except such as he was necessarily called upon to perform in connection with the Necrology of his Class, which, as Class Secretary, he had undertaken to keep up. In the performance of this duty, he was greatly stimulated by contact with workers in the same field.

The Society would recall the admirable Memoir of Parkman which graced the pages of its Publications, and would recognize in the character of the work shown in the paper on Martin Gay how much had been lost through the fact that Mr. Wheelwright's talents were not earlier directed towards literary work of this sort. He himself felt that he was indebted to the Society for introducing him to this field of labor, and at the very last meeting over which he presided, in presenting a paper which contained some reminiscences of his childhood, bearing upon historical topics, he added, "I have often wished of late that I had known about the Colonial Society in those days, for I was told many things which were worth preserving, and if I had known then as much about such matters as I do now, I would have made a record of them." "It is a great satisfaction," continued Mr. Davis, "to feel that Mr. Wheelwright was so thoroughly in sympathy with us; and, as we cast our eyes back over the steady growth of his interest in historical work, our sorrow that he could not have been spared longer to share our labors will only be equalled by our regret that he was not attracted to work of this kind earlier in life."

The RECORDING SECRETARY read the following letter: —

BOSTON, May 26, 1900.

HENRY W. CUNNINGHAM, Esq.,
Recording Secretary.

MY DEAR SIR, — As it will be impossible for me to attend the meeting of the Society, to be held on Monday next, in memory of the late President, Mr. Edward Wheelwright, I desire to say that I am very sensible of the severe loss which has been occasioned to the Society by reason of his death.

Although my personal acquaintance with Mr. Wheelwright began only after this Society was formed, our relations were always of the most friendly and cordial nature, and I became impressed not only with the sterling qualities of the character of Mr. Wheelwright, but with the fact that he was just the kind of man to be the leader in a Society like ours.

It seemed peculiarly fitting that those who have undertaken, as we have, to make as perfect a record as possible of the doings of the sturdy characters of old, and to cherish the memory of whatever they accomplished for truth and right, should have had at our head a man like Mr. Wheelwright, whose fine character and high ideals revealed themselves more and more as he became better known.

I beg you to express to the Meeting my feeling of regret that I am unable to be present.

Very truly yours,
CHARLES S. RACKEMANN.

MR. HENRY H. EDES then paid this tribute to the memory of the late President: —

MR. CHAIRMAN, — The Minute which the Committee on Resolutions has submitted refers to Mr. Wheelwright's courage, modesty, and generosity; to his interest in our work, to his loyalty to the Society and his faith in its future, and to the affectionate remembrance in which his memory is held by those who came in daily contact with him. To all these things, and more, I can bear personal testimony, for, with perhaps a single exception, I saw more of him than did any other member of the Society. He was a constant visitor at my office, rarely, if ever, going down to State Street without making me a friendly call on his way home to luncheon. The Society and its work were uppermost in his

thought and conversation, and he was eager always to know what was most needed to promote its welfare and how he could most effectively contribute to it. On several occasions he asked me if we were not in need of money for our current work, and, if I had been disposed to ask for it, I am sure that his check would have been forthcoming for any sum which I might have named. Indeed, in a single instance, I told him how he could render the Society incalculable service. Without a moment's hesitation he wrote a check for twenty-five hundred dollars, saying he was glad to have the opportunity to do something *substantial* for the Society; and it was after making this generous contribution to our treasury that he frequently asked if I did not want him to do more.

Mr. Wheelwright's gift was known to but few of our fellowship, and they alone were aware that the occasion for it was also the reason for the delay in the issue of our Publications, — consequent upon the suspension of our printing for a year and a half. Besides this large gift, which, with characteristic modesty, he insisted should be anonymous, Mr. Wheelwright contributed at various times other generous sums which have augmented our Permanent Funds.

Mr. Wheelwright's interest in our Publications was very great. He was especially proud of the thoroughness with which our work has been done. To this interest in our work Mr. Wheelwright has again borne noble testimony in his will, concerning which he talked with me when he was drawing it, saying that, although he was extremely busy with other matters, he had put them aside and given precedence to that business, because — to use his own words — he wanted "to make sure that the Colonial Society is taken care of." As Mr. Wheelwright's will has been filed in the Probate Office, it is no breach of the confidence with which he honored me to announce at this time that he has bequeathed to the Society the munificent sum of twenty thousand dollars.

As Mr. Davis proceeded with the reading of the admirable Minute which is now before the Meeting, I was impressed by the fact that that tribute to Mr. Wheelwright's devotion to the Society and its interests, and to his pecuniary assistance in various undertakings, referred wholly to the past, and that it was written without a hint or suspicion of the generous provisions for the Society's needs contained in Mr. Wheelwright's will.

Great, however, as was Mr. Wheelwright's interest in this Society, it was not allowed to absorb an undue share of his attention. Always abreast of the times, and of a sunny and hopeful temperament, his interest in art and in the best literature, in the drama, in public affairs, in his College Class and its survivors, in Harvard College matters, and in those of the Porcellian and other college societies of which he was a member, in his friends, and in his beautiful estate at Cohasset, which was his summer home for nearly forty years, — in all these his interest was keen, and it was sustained till the very end of his life.

Mr. Wheelwright's interest in his family history remained till the last, and only a few days before his fatal illness he finally revised the proof of an article entitled The Lowell Pedigree, which will appear in the July number of the New England Historical and Genealogical Register. A few weeks ago, and after long and persistent inquiry, Mr. Wheelwright completed the Records of his Class by discovering the date and place of the death of the only one of his classmates concerning whose survival there had been a doubt.

Of all the academic or other honors which came to Mr. Wheelwright, there was none which brought to him so much satisfaction as his election, last June, to fellowship in the Harvard Chapter of the Fraternity of Phi Beta Kappa. Without knowledge on his part of the fact of his nomination to honorary fellowship in the Society, he had been invited to attend, as a guest, the public exercises in Sanders Theatre and the dinner. When he appeared in the College Yard, after his election had been announced to him, wearing the colors of the Society, he was at once surrounded by such of his classmates as were members of the Fraternity and welcomed to fellowship with the utmost cordiality, — a welcome in which many of his younger friends, who were alike members of this Society and of the Fraternity, joined.

During the winter months, Mr. Wheelwright lived in Boston, at No. 22 Chestnut Street. For more than seventy-six years this house was his home, and there he died, in the room in which he was born.

It is with no ordinary emotion that we take our leave of this dearly loved associate and friend. Faithful, loyal, kind, pattern of an ancient courtesy that is fast becoming a tradition, I keenly

miss his almost daily call, his cordial greeting, his benignant presence; and the memory of our friendship, of the nobility of his character, and of his devotion to this Society will always be to me a very precious possession.

The Minute was then unanimously adopted by a rising vote.

MR. EDES said that shortly after the photograph upon the President's desk was taken, Mr. Wheelwright brought it to him with a copy, saying, "One of these portraits is for yourself; the other you can put away, and some day give it to the Society." Mr. Edes said that this seemed to him to be the proper occasion to bring this gift to the attention of the Society, and accordingly he presented it in Mr. Wheelwright's name.

The CHAIRMAN then announced the death, on the sixth of May, of the Hon. WILLIAM CROWNINSHIELD ENDICOTT, and called upon MR. JOHN NOBLE, who spoke as follows: —

I shall not speak at any length, or attempt to give to the memory of Judge Endicott such a tribute as a character and life like his demand; that is rather for him who shall write the Memoir for our Transactions. My first recollection of our late associate dates back more than fifty years. It was in the old College Yard, in front of University Hall, when he was leaving and I was entering the College. I well remember the impression made upon a boy fresh from the New Hampshire hills by one who seemed to be the highest type of a Harvard student, and the personification of the culture and elegance and indefinable charm of address and bearing which should mark the finished product of the ancient University as she sent it out into the world, — "the bright, consummate flower." Not wholly unlike that, I think, has been the impression which he has left on all who have met him in later life, in the wider scene of his distinguished career.

For many years Judge Endicott was an eminent member of the Essex Bar, — a Bar famous always in the history of Massachusetts. He early established a reputation as a sagacious coun-

sellor, a learned lawyer, an eloquent advocate, and equally a man of business and affairs. Without seeming to work, he handled his cases as if they were playthings, with a skill and ability and readiness of resource which ended in nearly invariable success. He was not a mere lawyer, however, but a man of varied accomplishments, of wide information, fond of the best literature, and well read in it, versed in our early Colonial history, of broad culture and scholarly tastes.

Endicott came upon the Bench of the highest Court of the Commonwealth in 1873, and at once took his place as one of its ablest members. He was well grounded and well read, and with the ability to make a ready use of his acquisitions. He had sound common-sense, practical capacity, clear and rapid judgment, and the legal instinct, often more valuable in an emergency than wide learning or deep research, — that legal instinct which knows at once and intuitively what the law in a given case must be, or at least should be, and which solves the knottiest or most novel questions. He had a rare faculty of grasping evidence and getting at the truth, catching with quickness the essentials and mastering the details, however complicated. Careful, considerate, impartial, prompt, rapid, decided, he bore himself to universal acceptance as a Judge at *nisi prius*, in judicial hearings, and especially in those causes now the main business of the Court upon the Equity side of its jurisdiction. His Opinions in the Reports which cover the nine years of his service make his lasting monument as a lawyer and a judge.

At various periods of his life, Judge Endicott was prominent in political affairs. Belonging to the minority and not the dominant party, his position was more often that of the candidate than of the incumbent. Entering the Cabinet of President Cleveland, in 1885, as Secretary of War, he was, through the whole of Cleveland's first term, a prominent and influential member of that brilliant Administration. In those times of peace and prosperity, there was not that opportunity for signal distinction or for conspicuous failure which finds a place in more strenuous periods; but his career throughout was clear, successful, and honorable, — alike creditable to himself and serviceable to the country.

Harvard College and all that concerned it was always an object of Judge Endicott's special interest. For about ten years (1875–

1882, 1883–1885) he was on the Board of Overseers, and later (1884–1895) a member of the Corporation. He was also, for a considerable time, the graduate head of one of its oldest and most famous Clubs.

A lineal descendant of one of the earliest Colonists and best-known magistrates of the Massachusetts Bay, our late associate held in transmitted succession many of the distinguishing characteristics of Governor Endicott, softened and tempered by the liberalizing influences of two hundred years. He had his sturdy strength and courage, his determination and decision, his unswerving integrity and independence, his self-reliance, his settled convictions, his high sense of honor, his fidelity to duty. Dignified and courteous, aristocratic in temper and bearing, — yet in many ways singularly democratic in feeling and opinion, — courtly in manner, an engaging companion, a warm and faithful friend, blood, breeding, and instinct united to make him, always and everywhere, a gentleman.

At the conclusion of his Remarks, Mr. NOBLE read a letter from the Hon. FRANCIS C. LOWELL expressing his regret that his duties upon the Bench precluded his attendance at this Meeting.

ANNUAL MEETING, NOVEMBER, 1900.

THE ANNUAL MEETING was held at the University Club, No. 270 Beacon Street, Boston, on Wednesday, 21 November, 1900, at six o'clock in the evening, the First Vice-President, WILLIAM WATSON GOODWIN, D.C.L., in the chair.

The Records of the Stated Meeting in April, and of the Special Meeting in May, in memory of the late President, were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that letters had been received from the Reverend EDWARD HALE and Mr. HENRY LEE HIGGINSON accepting Resident Membership.

The Report of the Council was presented and read by Mr. JOHN NOBLE.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

The year now closing has been prosperous and successful. The financial condition of the Society will be set out in full in the Treasurer's Report. The available funds are limited and on a modest scale, but, for a young Society, the prospect is encouraging. We wait in hope. The past is secure, the present sound and safe.

In the death of its President, EDWARD WHEELWRIGHT, the Society has met with a loss in many respects irreparable. His kindly presence, his dignity and grace as a presiding officer, his many historical and literary communications, the felicity of the memoirs which he wrote, his generosity, — so modest and so opportune, — his keen interest in the Society, his absolute devotion to its welfare and service, the wisdom of his advice in the Council, and the successful conduct of all its affairs have made memorable his connection with the Society as a member, and his administra-

tion as its President. His munificent bequest of $20,000, which alone would embalm his memory with the Society, proves a devotion that did not end with his life. His death came suddenly after the close of our Stated Meetings. A Special Meeting of the Council was at once called, and a Special Memorial Meeting of the Society was held on the twenty-eighth of May. The proceedings at both meetings will hereafter appear in our Transactions.

The year has brought also the loss of five other of the most valued and eminent of the Resident Members: —

EDWARD GRIFFIN PORTER, an authority on the local history of Boston, and of all New England; a man of wide and marvellous knowledge, general and detailed, of our early history, — a knowledge instantly available and ever at the service of all asking it; a devoted member of the Society, always present when on this side of the Atlantic, whose numerous contributions have given interest and value to our Transactions.

WILLIAM CROWNINSHIELD ENDICOTT, distinguished alike at the bar, on the bench, and in the cabinet, a valued member whose failing health deprived us of his frequent presence.

AUGUSTUS LOWELL, fit representative of a family identified for generations with the history of the City and of the Commonwealth, through the judiciary, the institutions of learning, science and philanthropy, and the great textile industries, and with the whole public life of both: himself a man of business and affairs of the highest standing in the community; a public-spirited citizen of the best type of old Boston life, who worthily bore the duties imposed by his inheritance: a man of scholarly tastes and acquirements, and, in private relations, a faithful and whole-souled friend.

JOHN ELBRIDGE HUDSON, who singularly combined the scholar, the man of learning and literary ability, the administrative and executive genius, and the capable and successful business man, and who was, withal, a genial companion, beloved by all with whom he came in touch.

CHARLES CARROLL EVERETT, the divine, the teacher, the philosopher, who has left an abiding impress on the whole religious thought and life of the day. Dr. Everett has been most closely connected with the Society since his entrance into our fellowship, — a most interested and efficient member, and, for three years, one of the Council. He was, this year, the Chairman of the Committee

on Nominations, and upon him would have devolved the duty of making its report at this meeting.

Memoirs have been assigned to the following named members: — that of Mr. Porter to Samuel Swett Green; of Judge Endicott to Joseph Hodges Choate; of President Wheelwright to Henry Herbert Edes; of Mr. Hudson to James Bradley Thayer; of Dr. Everett to the Reverend Edward Hale; of Mr. Lowell to Judge Francis Cabot Lowell; and that of George Otis Shattuck, originally assigned to a member whose own memoir has since been communicated to the Society, to the Reverend Edward Henry Hall.

The year has brought the first break in our Honorary and Corresponding Rolls.

JOHN HOWLAND RICKETSON, a Corresponding Member, died on the twentieth of July. Graduating in the Harvard Class of 1859, after following for a time his chosen profession, the law, he became the head of a large manufacturing corporation, the affairs of which he successfully conducted for thirty years, and was always looked to as an able representative of the great iron industry of Pennsylvania. Through these years he was closely connected with the interests and many of the important events of the city of his adoption, Pittsburgh. Political honors, often offered, he always declined. He was a devoted son of Harvard, carrying with him the Harvard spirit, and the College is indebted to him for many valuable services. Kind, tender, generous, thoughtful, of winning personality, he made friends everywhere and left an abiding memory with all who knew him.

EDWARD JOHN PHELPS, the first to die of those whose names are borne on our short and carefully-guarded roll of Honorary Members, has left a reputation, both national and international, as an expounder and teacher of law, as a statesman and as a diplomatist, and, perhaps even better and higher than all, as a public-spirited citizen of the American Republic, — a patriot in the broadest and highest sense, who loved and served his country, privately and publicly, with equal devotion and ability. His gracious presence at more than one of our Annual Dinners, — for the last time a year ago, — will come back to us to-night with longing and tender memories. The touching and felicitous tribute paid by our late honored President to Mr. Phelps at the Stated Meeting after his death, will appear in full in our Transactions.

During the year, five Resident Members have been enrolled, —

JAMES FORD RHODES,
EDWARD HENRY HALL,
JOHN GORHAM PALFREY,
EDWARD HALE,
HENRY LEE HIGGINSON;

and the names of six Corresponding Members, —

JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER,
ARTHUR TWINING HADLEY,
JOHN CHANDLER BANCROFT DAVIS,
MOSES COIT TYLER,
JOHN SHAW BILLINGS,
HORACE HOWARD FURNESS,

have been added to the Roll.

Beside the Annual Meeting and Dinner, in November, five Stated Meetings have been held, from December to April, and the Special Meeting in honor of President Wheelwright, in May. The Meeting in January, occurring on the anniversary of Franklin's birth, gave occasion to some reference to his life and the part he played in American history. At all the meetings the attendance was good for a body, made up like this, of busy men, engrossed by their own imperative duties and occupations and controlled by conflicting engagements. Constant attendance in such case is, of course, impossible. None the less are full meetings desirable, as at once not merely among the evidences, but also among the causes, of success. Such an attendance involves a corresponding obligation, — that all the meetings shall be made more and more interesting and better and better worth attending, by due effort and provision on the part of all. A notable feature of the meetings has been the increased and increasing participation by the members generally in the discussions following the reading of the papers.

Something more than twenty papers were communicated in the course of the year, all of interest, and some of especial importance and value. They covered a variety of subjects. Time and space do not allow of details. Diaries and original correspondence were brought out, throwing light on the domestic, social and political conditions of the times; there were various historical papers, some on the obscurer and less familiar events of Colonial and Provincial

days; there were side-lights on well-known characters in our history, some venerable historical errors were detected and corrected; some well-known lists, supposed to be full and authentic, were shown to be defective and inaccurate; the origin and transmutations of geographical names were given, interesting in themselves, and of value in many directions; copies of little known State Papers, of records — town, state and court — were exhibited, besides many original documents; and other contributions of many kinds were made during the year. Beside the communications already mentioned, there have been memoirs of deceased members presented, the last among them being that of Dr. Joseph Henry Allen by Dr. Charles Carroll Everett.

During the year a volume of Transactions filling nearly six hundred pages, thoroughly indexed and well illustrated, has been issued and distributed to the members, as well as a serial of more than two hundred pages, — a part of the current volume. The work of printing is being pushed forward as rapidly as is consistent with accuracy, proper editing, good workmanship, and the necessity of keeping our expenditures within our slender income.

The life and strength of any Society like this must lie largely in its Publications, hence the need is apparent of a permanent and generous endowment set apart as a Publication Fund. The income of a fund of $50,000, were such possible, — and may not such an amount be hoped for in due time? — could be well and profitably employed, and is none too large to meet the demands and effect the purposes and plans of the Society even at the present time.

A most pressing need of the Society is a permanent, convenient and comfortable abiding place. For several years it enjoyed and was dependent upon the courteous hospitality of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. The past year it has met a like courtesy and kindness at the hands of the American Unitarian Association, and has held its meetings in its Building, No. 25 Beacon Street. For this most opportune and generous hospitality the Society is greatly indebted. The Council has conveyed to the Association an expression of its grateful appreciation of this hospitality. This Society is as yet young, and must, of necessity, temper its hopes and expectations with the modesty becoming its youth, and try to console itself with the reflection that "all things

come round to him who will but wait." Meanwhile, the need is none the less apparent. A fixed and commodious home would at once insure the gift of books, manuscripts and collections, beside relics, portraits, pictures, photographs, and valuable articles of all kinds, not a few of which have been, from time to time, offered or promised in the future, when suitable and safe accommodations shall have been provided.

Mention has been made in previous Reports of movements of municipal and other corporations and bodies looking to the publication of important ancient records. Beside the work of the City of Cambridge, thus mentioned, the First Parish in Cambridge has lately appointed a committee which is now considering the question of printing its Church Registers, — a purpose the carrying out of which is earnestly to be hoped for.

The Council has often referred in its Reports to the fields opening to this and kindred organizations, and has suggested directions and methods of historical work, and plans and projects that seemed to it worthy of consideration. These suggestions need not be repeated; it is enough to renew them.

And now, at the opening of another year, the Council feels that the Society has fully established its right to be, that its future is assured, and that it may start upon the coming year with well-grounded confidence and sanguine hope.

The Reports of the Treasurer and of the Committee to examine the Treasurer's Accounts were then submitted, as follows: —

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

The By-Laws of the Society require of the Treasurer, at the Annual Meeting, a statement of the financial operations during the preceding year and of the amount, character, and condition of the investments. In obedience to this requirement, I have the honor to submit the following Report.

CASH ACCOUNT.

RECEIPTS.

Balance, 10 November, 1899		$280.92
Admission Fees	$50.00	
Annual Assessments	780.00	
Commutation of the Annual Assessment from one Member	100.00	
Interest	726.87	
Sales of the Society's Publications	47.60	
Contributions from two Members	213.44	
Gift to the Publication Fund from Edward Wheelwright	100.00	
Withdrawn from Charlestown Five Cents Savings Bank	1,125.00	3,142.91
		$3,423.83

EXPENDITURES.

University Press: printing	$1,390.28	
21 reams paper	144.19	
A. W. Elson and Company, photogravures and plate printing	126.74	
J. A. Wilcox, plate printing	10.30	
Suffolk Engraving Company	1.25	
Hill, Smith and Company, stationery	12.10	
Houghton and Clark, wreath	8.00	
Boston Parcel Delivery Company	24.88	
William H. Hart, auditing	5.00	
Clerical service	73.15	
Miscellaneous incidentals	405.76	
Deposited in Charlestown Five Cents Savings Bank	1,198.23	
Interest in adjustment	17.50	
		$3,417.38
Balance on Deposit in the Third National Bank of Boston, 17 November, 1900		6.45
		$3,423.38

The Funds of the Society are invested as follows: —

$13,500.00 in First Mortgages, payable in gold coin, on improved property in Boston and Cambridge.

520.00 deposited in the Charlestown Five Cents Savings Bank.

TRIAL BALANCE.

DEBITS.

Cash		$6.45
Mortgages	$13,500.00	
Charlestown Five Cents Savings Bank	520.00	14,020.00
		$14,026.45

CREDITS.

Income		$6.45
Publication Fund	$700.00	
General Fund	3,320.00	
Gould Memorial Fund	10,000.00	14,020.00
		$14,026.45

HENRY H. EDES,
Treasurer.

BOSTON, 17 November, 1900.

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE.

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts for the year ending 17 November, 1900, have attended to that duty, and report that they find them correctly kept and properly vouched; and that proper evidence of the investments and of the balance of cash on hand has been shown to us.

ANDREW C. WHEELWRIGHT,
FRANCIS H. LINCOLN,
Committee.

BOSTON, 19 November, 1900.

The several Reports were accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication.

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS, on behalf of the Committee to nominate candidates for Officers for the ensuing year, made the following Report: —

PRESIDENT.

GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

WILLIAM WATSON GOODWIN.
JAMES BRADLEY THAYER.

RECORDING SECRETARY.

HENRY WINCHESTER CUNNINGHAM.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

JOHN NOBLE.

TREASURER.

HENRY HERBERT EDES.

REGISTRAR.

FREDERICK LEWIS GAY.

MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL FOR THREE YEARS.

EDWARD HALE.

The Report was accepted; and, a ballot being taken, these gentlemen were unanimously elected.

Mr. SAMUEL SWETT GREEN communicated a Memoir of Edward Griffin Porter, which he had been requested to prepare for publication in the Transactions.

After the dissolution of the meeting, dinner was served to the members and their guests, — General Joseph Wheeler and Mr. George Parker Winship, a Corresponding Member of the Society. Vice-President GOODWIN presided and the Reverend EDWARD HALE invoked the Divine blessing.

After dinner, the members rose and, in silence, drank to the memory of Edward Wheelwright. Speeches were made by Professor GOODWIN, General WHEELER, Mr. WINSHIP and the President-elect, Professor KITTREDGE.

Mr. HENRY H. EDES addressed the Chair as follows: —

Mr. CHAIRMAN, — There is one familiar face which we all miss to-night, — that of our oldest member, whose attendance at our meetings has been as constant as his devotion to every interest of the Society. In a note received from him this morning, he writes: —

It is with real reluctance and regret that I find myself unable to join you. My illness, last summer, took away very much of my elasticity of movement, besides twenty or more pounds of my avoirdupois, and I am but slowly, though, I believe, surely, getting back to my normal

condition. A man well on in the eighties must husband his resources, and I mean to reserve myself for the meetings of the coming year, which I hope to attend regularly.

The recollection of the past dinners is very pleasant, and there are many hands I should be glad to shake this year, as Mr. Goodell's, Lindsay Swift's, and many others — so I shall remember you all on the twenty-first.

I am sure, Sir, that we shall all be glad to rise and drink to the health of our devoted and chivalrous old friend. I give you the health of Mr. Henry Williams, of the Harvard Class of 1837.

Edward Griffin Porter

MEMOIR

OF THE

REV. EDWARD GRIFFIN PORTER,

BY

SAMUEL SWETT GREEN.

EDWARD GRIFFIN PORTER was born in Boston, 24 January, 1837. He was the son of Royal Loomis Porter, editor and proprietor of the Boston Traveller, a newspaper which he started in 1825. Mr. Royal Porter died in Charleston, South Carolina, where he had gone for the benefit of his health, in 1844. Edward Porter's mother was Sarah Ann Pratt, who was born in Charlestown, Massachusetts, in 1812, and is still living.

In 1623, John Porter came from the West of England to Plymouth, in the Colony of that name. Branches of the family afterwards settled in Farmington and Hartford, Connecticut, and in Danvers and Hadley, Massachusetts. Edward Porter was descended, in the sixth generation, from the first settler in East Hartford, Connecticut. A son of the first settler there was James Porter, born in 1720. His son, James, was born in 1745. James's son, Daniel, was born in East Hartford in 1776, but after the war moved to Williamstown, Massachusetts. He had a son, Royal Loomis, born in Vermont in 1801, who was the father of Edward Griffin Porter.

Mr. Royal Porter was an only son. He graduated at Williams College in 1823 and taught school a year or two in New York State before removing to Boston. He is said to have edited the Traveller with signal ability and success, until he died. He was buried near his father in the old cemetery at Williamstown.

Edward Porter lived in Boston until he was seven years old; his father then moved to Canton, Massachusetts, but, dying within a year, the family returned to Boston. Mrs. Porter, left a widow

with three children, — Frank, Edward, and William, — soon married Nathan Carruth, a Boston merchant. The family lived in Hancock Street for about two years and then moved to Dorchester, Massachusetts, where Mr. Carruth had built a large house in the gothic style, on an elevated spot, regarded as one of the most eligible in the vicinity of Boston. Edward Porter always spoke warmly of the never-failing kindness of his step-father.

After attending several private and public schools, Porter, in 1851, entered Phillips Academy, Andover, which was then under the charge of the celebrated educator, Samuel Harvey Taylor. He remained in the Academy during the usual course of preparation for college. He graduated in the summer of 1854, after pronouncing an oration on the Genius of Labor, and left school with high hopes and a stout heart to enter upon college life.

In January, 1853, Porter united, by public profession of faith, with the Second Church in Dorchester, then under the pastoral care of the Rev. James H. Means.

It had always been Porter's wish and that of his friends that he should go to college. In 1854, he was admitted to Williams College, after examination. It was by his own choice rather than that of his friends, who preferred he should go to Harvard College, that he went to Williams. He soon became disappointed with the educational advantages offered there and with his surroundings, and in the autumn of 1855, too late to have his name appear in the first edition of the Catalogue for that year, he transferred his connection to Harvard College. While at Williams College he joined the Alpha Delta Phi Society. In Cambridge he had only a few intimate friends, but those who knew him well were warmly attached to him and respected him highly. He did not attain to a high rank in his Class, — very likely did not seek it, — but was generally regarded as industrious, thoroughly in earnest, a man of considerable attainments and good scholarship.

The Class of 1858 in Harvard College does not stand out conspicuous by reason of a large number of its members having become famous. Still, it is pleasant to remark that nearly every member has done well while he lived, and many members have become eminent. Samuel Pasco was for several years a United States Senator from Florida, and Frederic George Bromberg, William Elliot, and the late William Fitzhugh Lee have repre-

sented in Congress districts in Alabama, South Carolina, and Virginia, respectively. Locally, the names of Winslow Warren and Henry Pickering Walcott will be recognized as belonging to men who have won distinction in public life in Massachusetts. The latter has also been, for several years, a Fellow of Harvard College. Among the teachers are Benjamin Graves Brown, Professor of Mathematics in Tufts College, the lately deceased Bradbury Longfellow Cilley, and George Albert Wentworth, for many years instructors in the Phillips Exeter Academy, the veteran George Washington Copp Noble of Boston, Eugene Frederick Bliss of Cincinnati, Ohio, and Joseph Alden Shaw of the Highland Military Academy, Worcester, Massachusetts. Of the physicians, the names are well known of John Homans, Robert Thaxter Edes, John Gray Park, and George Ebenezer Francis. The Reverend Henry Wilder Foote, Minister of King's Chapel, Boston, was a member of the Class; and among those members who became lawyers are Judge Alfred Stedman Hartwell of Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, Judge William Henry Fox of Taunton, Massachusetts, and James Clarke Davis, of Boston. Of the representatives of the Class in business may be mentioned John Lowell Gardner, recently deceased, Hersey Bradford Goodwin, and the two Tobeys, — Gerard Curtis and Horace Pratt. Well-known Boston families were represented by Fisher Ames, Josiah Bradlee, Louis Cabot, Benjamin William Crowninshield, Ozias Goodwin, Hollis Hunnewell, and Edward Bromfield Mason. George Edward Pond, who has lately died, was always an editor or editorial writer, and is particularly remembered by his connection with the Army and Navy Journal during the Civil War. The writer of this Memoir has helped to give completeness to the list of occupations in the Class by nearly thirty years' service as a librarian.

Several members of the Class of 1858 have shown a decided interest in American history, and Porter was prominent among them. The most eminent of these is Henry Adams, known to his classmates by the name of Henry Brooks Adams, by which name he was designated in the catalogue throughout his college course. George Dexter, Foote, John Charles Phillips (Porter's room-mate in the Senior year), Porter, Robert Noxon Toppan, Walcott, and Warren have been or are Resident Members of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Adams, Bliss, Dexter, Foote, Francis, Green,

Porter, and Toppan are the living and deceased members of the Class who have represented it in the American Antiquarian Society. Many members of the Class have belonged to other historical societies and served as officers in them, to say nothing of those who are past or present members of this Society.[1]

The Class lost some of its most promising members by early death, among them William Gibbons of New York City. He was with the Class for a few months as a Sophomore, but died in Cambridge in that year. The most serious losses, however, came through the Civil War. The time of the graduation of the Class was such that many members served as soldiers. Five lost their lives, and among them were such men of promise as James Jackson Lowell, Henry Lyman Patten, and Thomas Jefferson Spurr. The Class had representatives in both armies. A story is told of a meeting, during the war, of William Fitzhugh Lee, a son of General Robert E. Lee, and Nicholas Longworth Anderson. They were Generals in the Confederate and Union armies, respectively, and found themselves, one night, on opposite sides of a river. Anderson, the story runs, sent a pleasant message to his old classmate Lee, but the latter's feelings were too strong to allow him to reciprocate the courtesy. He sent back word that he could have no correspondence with a man of such objectionable principles as those of Anderson. The latter afterwards made his home in Washington. Lee's place was near that city after the war, and, as before stated, he was in Congress. The two old friends must have often laughed heartily over the above-mentioned scene when they renewed, as they did, their hearty friendship in the Capital of the country.

Porter wrote in his college class-book, 18 May, 1858, that he was to sail for Europe the next day. "My present plans," he continues, "are to travel six months in Europe with my mother, study during the following winter at Heidelberg, and return in 1859 to enter upon the study of theology." He did not return, however, until July, 1861. While abroad he studied at Berlin and Heidelberg and paid his first visit to the East, spending much time in travelling in Egypt and Syria.

In 1861, Porter took the degree of Master of Arts. In Septem-

[1] Messrs. Louis Cabot, Samuel Swett Green, Edward Griffin Porter, and Robert Noxon Toppan.

ber of the same year, he entered the Andover Theological Seminary, and graduated from it in August, 1864. The writer of this Memoir remembers spending a pleasant day with him at Andover while he was in the Seminary. He took me on a delightful walk in the woods, allowed me to accompany him to a lecture by the celebrated Dr. Edwards Amasa Park, and in the evening escorted me to a charming reception at Abbot Academy. He had a rare faculty of finding out the beautiful scenery and interesting historic spots in every town where he stayed, became acquainted with the men best worth knowing, and, when long enough in a place, was admitted freely to its best social circles. He much enjoyed sharing his knowledge and privileges with a friend.

Mr. Porter was licensed to preach by the Norfolk Association, at Braintree, Massachusetts, 26 January, 1864. In the spring of the same year, while still connected with the Seminary, he went west in the service of the United States Sanitary Commission. There he contracted a fever which seriously impaired his health. After graduating at Andover, he remained at home in Dorchester, taking charge of a church during the absence of its pastor. In the following year he preached occasionally in various places, but did not feel strong enough to accept any proposals for settlement. By the advice of his physician and friends he sailed again for Europe, 31 May, 1866. After some time spent in England, he went to Switzerland and Italy. There he studied with great interest the Waldensian movement to give Protestant churches and schools to all the principal towns, and was almost persuaded to accept the charge of the new Italian church at Venice. He went next to Malta, and thence to the East, where he spent the spring of 1867. The work of the American Mission at Beirut and on the slopes of Mount Lebanon engaged much of his attention. Afterwards, in Greece, he aided in the distribution of some of the American supplies among the Cretan refugees. Returning through Austria and Germany, he reached Paris in time to see the close of the great Exhibition, and arrived in this country again in January, 1868. He spent a short time in arranging the materials collected in his journey, but kept in mind the work for which he had been educated.

On the first of October, 1868, Mr. Porter was ordained minister of the Hancock Congregational Church, a newly-formed Trinitarian

Society in Lexington, Massachusetts. He remained in that position for twenty-three years, and was very successful in his ministry. Although not regarded as a remarkable preacher, he was an admirable pastor and a public-spirited citizen.

As we know, Mr. Porter was not unmindful of the charm of the society of men of high social position or of those who had become eminent professionally or in politics; yet he had a happy faculty, also, of becoming interested in persons in all conditions of life and of making everybody with whom he came in contact his friend. He was universally respected and loved by his people and townsmen, and he was an especial favorite with children.

While in Lexington, Mr. Porter took an active interest in the affairs of the town. He became chairman of the School Committee and a trustee of the Public Library. He also served as chairman of a committee on the order of exercises at the celebration, in 1875, of the one hundredth anniversary of the Battle of Lexington. When he resigned his charge as pastor, in 1891, his resignation was reluctantly accepted and he was made Pastor Emeritus of the church. He always retained his citizenship in Lexington.

In 1887–88 he made another journey to the East, on that occasion visiting the missionary stations of the American Board in Turkey, India, China, and Japan. He had a strong and active interest in foreign missions, and will be very much missed in missionary circles. He also had a lively interest in the East, evidenced, and probably partially caused, by the several visits which he made to that portion of the world. He seemed to me never happier or more at home than when, standing on a platform, with a map behind him, he explained clearly and thoroughly the political situation and the religious differences in such little known states as Wallachia, Servia, and Moldavia, or expounded the causes and merits of dissensions between Mussulmans and Armenians.

Mr. Porter's services were much in demand to serve on committees and they were cheerfully and efficiently rendered. He held a large number of offices. Thus, he was a member of the Overseers' Committee to visit the Academical Department of Harvard College, and of the Boards of Visitors of Wellesley College and Bradford Academy. He was a Trustee of Abbot Academy, Andover, and of Lawrence Academy, Groton, Massachusetts. We find him helping the Trustees of the American College at Aintab in Asia Minor at

the time of its establishment, and afterwards he became President of its Board of Trustees.

Porter represented Massachusetts in the Historical Department of the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia, in 1876, and was a delegate of the American Antiquarian Society at the meeting of the Royal Society of Canada held in Halifax in the spring of 1897, the chief object of which was to erect a monument to John Cabot. His interest in American history was very great, and the study and presentation of portions of it occupied a considerable part of his activities and gave a coloring to most of his literary productions. He was an accomplished guide in pointing out places of historical interest in Lexington, Boston and its neighborhood, Plymouth, and other localities. His services in this capacity were regarded as very valuable, and were freely given when asked for. He always had investigations in hand. The writer of this paper remembers that for two or three years before his death Porter was actively engaged in looking up the path which in Colonial times led from Boston, through Worcester and other towns, to Springfield.

In April, 1876, Mr. Porter was elected a member of the American Antiquarian Society, and in 1880 a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. He was also a member of the American Historical Association and of other historical organizations. In January, 1899, he was chosen President of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, and in the following summer he was elected to fellowship in the Harvard chapter of the Fraternity of Phi Beta Kappa.

In 1887, Mr. Porter published an interesting book entitled Rambles in Old Boston, New England. It is a work which is much in demand, and has for some time been out of print. He also contributed to the third volume of the Memorial History of Boston, edited by Justin Winsor, the chapter on The Beginning of the Revolution (1760–1775). In 1775, he published an Historical Sketch of the Battle of Lexington, and edited the volume containing the Proceedings of the Celebration Commemorative of the one hundredth anniversary of that battle. Among his occasional papers which have been printed are: Sermon on the death of the Reverend William Hooper Adams (H. C. 1860); Memoir of John Charles Phillips, prepared for the Massachusetts Historical Society; an Original Document of the House of Washington (thirteenth

century); an Address on the Centennial of Washington's visit to Lexington; an Address on Samuel Adams; Four Drawings of Lexington and Concord in 1775; President Garfield's Ancestry; The Ship Columbia and the Discovery of Oregon; The Cabot Celebrations of 1897; Sketches of the English towns of Dorchester, Ipswich, Billericay, and Bedford; and The Aborigines of Australia.

Mr. Porter died 5 February, 1900, at the home of his mother, Ashmont, Dorchester. Two days after, on Wednesday, 7 February, he was buried from the same place. A large assembly came together to do honor to his memory. Among those present were the venerable Dr. Cyrus Hamlin and other clergymen, a numerous delegation from his Society in Lexington, college classmates, and associates in historical and other societies.

Porter died in harness. Only a few days before his death, a corrected proof of Remarks made by him at the meeting of the American Antiquarian Society held in October, 1899, was received by its Publishing Committee. He had agreed to make Remarks at the meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society which occurred a few days after his death, and had made other engagements to write or to speak. From boyhood Mr. Porter had been a student. His life passed smoothly. He was an industrious and useful man; and, busy, loved, and respected as he was, his death will be widely felt.

Mr. Porter was elected a Resident Member of this Society on the fifteenth of March, 1893. On the twentieth of December, following, he was appointed a member of the Committee of Publication, — a position he continued to hold until his death, and in which he rendered valuable service.

DECEMBER MEETING, 1900.

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at No. 25 Beacon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 27 December, 1900, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the first Vice-President, WILLIAM WATSON GOODWIN, D.C.L., in the chair.

After the Minutes of the Annual Meeting had been read and approved, the VICE-PRESIDENT announced that the President-elect was present and was ready to assume office, and appointed Mr. JOHN NOBLE and Mr. HENRY H. EDES a committee to escort him to the chair.

President KITTREDGE then took the chair and delivered his Inaugural Address.

The TREASURER announced that since the last meeting he had received the sum of Ten thousand dollars from the Executrix of the late President Wheelwright, the same being the first instalment of his bequest to the Society. He then offered for consideration the draught of a Vote the adoption of which by the Society was recommended by the Council. After some discussion, in which several of the members participated, and an amendment, the Vote was unanimously adopted in the following form: —

Voted, That the bequest of President Wheelwright is hereby gratefully accepted; that it should be, and hereby is, made a part of the Permanent Endowment of the Society; that it be forever known as the EDWARD WHEELWRIGHT FUND; that only the income thereof shall ever be used; and that said income shall be applied to defraying the cost of the Society's Publications.

The PRESIDENT announced the death on the twenty-first instant of the Honorable ROGER WOLCOTT, a Resident Mem-

ber, and said that as his death had occurred so recently it was deemed fitting that the tributes to his memory which members would wish to pay should be deferred until the Stated Meeting in January. He then referred to the death of Dean EVERETT, to whose memory he paid a brief tribute.

Mr. S. LOTHROP THORNDIKE, having been called upon, said:

I am taken rather unawares. When I agreed to say something about Everett I certainly did not expect to lead in paying the proper tribute to his memory. I only meant, as a neighbor and a relative, to add a word or two to whatever might be said by others better fitted than I to speak of what gave his career and character their real interest and value. Even the little that I might say from the domestic standpoint would better find place in the memoir which someone else may by and by put upon record.

He came, on the paternal side, from a well known Dorchester family. His father, Ebenezer Everett, was own cousin to Alexander Hill Everett, the scholar and diplomatist, and Edward Everett, the statesman and orator. The father of Ebenezer and the father of Alexander and Edward were both Harvard graduates, both Orthodox ministers, and both, by a mingling or change of profession, of which perhaps other instances might be found in the Everett family, at some time in their lives Justices of the Court of Common Pleas.

Ebenezer Everett graduated at Harvard in 1806, studied law in Beverly with Nathan Dane, and practised his profession at Brunswick, Maine. In Beverly he married Joanna Prince, an interesting, lovely person, still mentioned in religious circles as one of the two excellent women who started the first Sabbath School in America.

Carroll Everett, as he was always called in the family, was the second son of this worthy couple, the only child who came to adult age. He was born and brought up at Brunswick, graduating at Bowdoin in 1850. He studied medicine, off and on, for some years, spending meantime a couple of years in Europe and afterward

[1] The Society was represented at Governor Wolcott's funeral by Messrs. S. Lothrop Thorndike, Andrew McFarland Davis, and Edward Hale.

served as Tutor of Modern Languages, as Librarian and as temporary Professor in Bowdoin. His nomination as full Professor was rejected by the Trustees, for the reason that he had shown a leaning to Unitarian views, and Bowdoin was Orthodox. His connection with the college was severed in 1857, and of this turning point in his career I will say a word presently.

Everett and I were related through our mothers, who were cousins. Our common great-grandfather was Josiah Batchelder, a person of some note in Essex County in the Revolution and the years that followed, being an important member of the Provincial Congress from 1775 to 1779, and holding other offices until his death in 1809. I never heard him spoken of otherwise than as Squire Batchelder. Squire Batchelder's father, also Josiah, wrote once of his mother's mother that, "She was the daughter of a Baptist minister, and some of her descendants are tinctured with her whims to this day. She was otherwise a very worthy woman." The amused charity, which may be read between the lines, for the people who thought that the whims made a difference, and the humor of the last remark that "she was otherwise a very worthy woman," make one think of the habit of mind of Everett himself.

The first thing which occurs to me at this moment about Everett is to wonder that we are talking about him at all here in this Colonial Society, — to wonder how he ever came to join us. The details of such a history as that of Colonial New England were, I fancy, as far out of the sphere of his interests, as the whims of his grandmother were to the ancestor of whom I have spoken. Or, if he cared for them at all, it was only for their results upon to-day. He was emphatically a man of the present and the future. To family history he was, or thought he was, entirely indifferent. I wrote him once to ask what he knew, or what he had heard his mother say, about our ancestor, the Squire, of whom I have spoken. He answered: "I am extremely sorry that I know absolutely nothing of this matter. I have not an antiquarian fibre in my body. I wish I had."

I say that he *thought* he was indifferent to family history. So he was sometimes and in detail. But when he deals with such questions in his essays I remember that after speaking of the principle of honesty and truthfulness becoming a part of a man's personality and self-assertion, and thereupon taking its place as honor, he adds

that the principle is intensified or accentuated if it is recognized as an assertion not merely of self but of blood. There was, besides, a certain indication that he cared a good deal more about the past than he thought he did, in the fact that he was especially sensitive about anything which seemed to him a derogation of dignity in any of his forbears. The same was true with regard to his contemporary relatives. But when the defect did not go to character, but was an innocent weakness, it did not trouble him. On the contrary, it appealed to his humor, and his vivid sense of the ludicrous overcame him, as it was apt to do even at inopportune moments. I might mention some anecdotes illustrative of both of these points, but I am conscious that words spoken here are apt to appear afterward in black and white, and must not fall below the dignity of print.

I am asked to speak of Everett domestically, on the ground of our relationship. I can hardly do this, because for thirty years of our life we lived in different states. As a boy and a youth I saw him rarely. I knew of him as doing the hard work of a student and a teacher, then as afterward with the efficient use of but one eye. Then came the story that his heresy had made his professor's chair untenable by him. The writer of an excellent article in the Christian Register speaks of this as a "tradition of the prehistoric days before the war." Tradition if it be, it is a case of tradition as exact and true as history. It was a solemn fact, very solemn to those of his relations who still adhered to the Calvinism of their forefathers. With my branch of the family, that had already made the dreadful lapse into Unitarianism, it was a matter of rejoicing, but I dare say that I could find even now relations who have never ceased to look upon him as a sheep of the wrong color. They are fewer in number than thirty years ago. Upon the whole, the old order has changed, and it is worth noting that Bowdoin gave him his Doctorate of Divinity several years before it was given by Harvard.

After losing his place at Bowdoin he spent two years at the Harvard Divinity School, and was then a Unitarian pastor at Bangor for some ten years. He then returned to Cambridge to take the place in the Divinity School which he retained until his death. After I became a resident of Cambridge, I knew him

better than ever before, but perhaps not better than many of you knew him.

Our ways of life lay in different lines, and of his success in his chosen profession I can only say what is well known even by those outside of his academic circle. He gave to theological study in Cambridge a broader scope than it had had before, and wider relations both inside and outside Christianity. He gave the theological department its proper academic place and its true importance to the rest of the university. But of all this one would never hear a word from him, at least in private. He was not apt to speak of his profession, as such. I think that I never heard him say a word about it, except to express great pleasure that his lectures attracted to the school clerical gentry of more Orthodox denominations. He was good-natured enough not to be cross when I told him not to be puffed up, that probably they only followed their calling, and hated the sin while they loved the sinner.

The article already quoted spoke of his heresy being not a stumbling block but a stepping stone. For himself, the article meant, but it is just as true for everybody with whom he was brought into contact. For everybody who ever heard him talk in private, or at the club dinner table, his good-humored heresies were stepping stones in every direction, and his little skepticisms (if one may use a word so dangerously apt to be misconstrued) were Cartesian, — defences against too easy assent, — tests of asserted conclusions.

One could hardly do justice to Everett's memory without saying a word of his wit and humor. Many bright things which he said or wrote might be repeated, but jokes *rechauffés* are apt to have a flavor a little stale. And one might say much of the earnest, serious man that abode beneath an exterior so pleasant and sometimes so light. One who wishes to know him as he was can find him in his little volume on Poetry, Comedy and Duty. If I wanted to describe him, in every act of his life, I should borrow a quotation from that book, — "A man who performs a righteous act from a sense of duty stands much higher than one who does n't perform it at all; but one who performs it because it seems the most natural thing in the word, simply because he wants to, stands still higher."

The Reverend EDWARD HALE said, in substance:

As a theologian Dr. Everett had a position peculiarly his own. Many have wondered what sort of theology could be taught in an undenominational or poly-denominational School of Divinity, and have supposed that the only courses open to the instructor would be either to treat his subject more or less vaguely and superficially or else to present as fairly as possible a variety of forms of belief and leave the student to make his choice. This was not Dr. Everett's method. He found underlying the differing creeds and methods certain fundamental principles of faith necessary to all of them. He discussed in his lectures such topics as the nature of religion, the belief in a God, the reasonableness of belief in Him, the denials of this reasonableness, the answer to such denials; the possibility of man's approach to God, the nature of inspiration, the methods of revelation, the grounds of belief in immortality, the question as to whether Christianity was to be considered an absolute religion. These topics and others similar, not fragmentarily as I have given them, but consecutively and with definite system, made up a study of faith profound and suggestive, in following which the student, whatever his creed, found his faith deepened and enlarged, and his insight quickened.

The respect which we felt for Dr. Everett as a teacher was strengthened as we came to know him personally. The elevation and serenity of his life, consistent with his teaching, the unaffected courtesy and ready friendliness with which he met those about him, his gentle fun, his quick wit, the wisdom of his counsel, the breadth of his sympathies, — all these made intercourse with him at once a delight and an inspiration.

Mr. FREDERICK LEWIS GAY remarked that through the kindness of Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., he had the honor of communicating six documents of the seventeenth century which have recently come to light. Four are letters written by Governor John Winthrop, one is a letter written by the Reverend Edmund Browne, while the sixth is a very interesting report on the state of the Massachusetts Bay Colony by Mr. Browne, — all sent to Sir Simonds D'Ewes. The

documents follow, preceded by an introductory note obligingly prepared by Mr. Winthrop.

Sir Simonds D'Ewes, Baronet, of Stow Langtoft Hall, County Suffolk, a lawyer, antiquary, and sometime member of Parliament, was born 18 December, 1602, and died 8 April, 1650, aged forty-eight. His first wife was a Clopton, kinswoman of the second wife of Governor Winthrop, which fact, coupled with their pronounced Puritanism, led to some intimacy between them. By tradition, letters of D'Ewes formerly existed among the Winthrop Papers long preserved in New London. If so, they probably disappeared in the last century, as none such came to light, — nor any letters from Winthrop to D'Ewes, — when the Honorable James Savage edited Winthrop's New England, or when the Honorable Robert C. Winthrop subsequently prepared the Life and Letters of John Winthrop. The last named work, however, contains a passage from the published autobiography of D'Ewes, in which he describes the reasons which induced Winthrop and others to emigrate to New England in 1630.[1]

The papers of Sir Simonds D'Ewes ultimately passed into the possession of that well-known bibliographer, Edward Harley, Earl of Oxford, and have long since formed part of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum. In the spring of 1900 Mr. Joseph James Muskett, Editor of Suffolk Manorial Families, accidentally discovered in this collection four original letters from Governor Winthrop to Sir Simonds D'Ewes, together with a long and interesting one to him from the Reverend Edmund Browne describing the general condition of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, all written between 1633 and 1639. Mr. Muskett at once made known his find, the value of which he did not at first realize, but after some correspondence careful copies were forwarded to Mr. Winthrop, to whom it seemed particularly appropriate to place them at the disposal of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, for which purpose he handed them to Mr. Gay, whose name has become associated with the discovery of the true site of Governor Winthrop's house during the first twelve years of his residence in Boston.[2]

[1] The Autobiography and Correspondence of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, ii. 116. See also 4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, i. 248.

[2] See the Publications of this Society, iii. 86–90.

I.

JOHN WINTHROP TO SIR SIMONDS D'EWES.

To the right worp^ll his muche honored friend & cosin S^r Simeon Dewes at Lavenham in Suff.

WORTHY S^R,

Yo^rs by younge Hamond I received, & cannot but most thankfully accept yo^r kind remembrance of me & yo^r good affection to this work, w^ch the Lords owne hand hath begune & uphelde hetherto, in the prosperitye whereof some blessinge & comforte may redounde to all the Church of Christ. For o^r estate heere, both Politick & Eccliall, I knowe you are allreadye sufficiently informed, & althoughe we cañot professe a pfection in either (w^ch is not to be looked for in this worlde) yet it is suche as the Lords holy & wise servants (suche as he hath vouchsafed to bestowe upon us both formerly & now of late) doe approve of, & accordingly doe joyne w^th us in the same Course.

I meane especially those 2 rever^d & faithfull miñrs M^r Cotton & M^r Hooker, who lately arrived heere w^th their familyes in as good healthe (praised be God) as when they came forthe, althoughe M^rs Cotton was delivered of a sonne at sea, who was since baptized on shore & name Seaborne.

For yo^r advise about o^r affaires, I am muche behoulden to yo^r care of us & doe concurre w^th yo^r opinion in the most, as o^r practice dothe declare, & shalbe somewhat rectified by yo^r advice at present & more as o^r meanes may be enlarged; but in the last both o^r practice & judgment differ from yo^rs, but I suppose we should soone be agreed if you were heere to see the state of things as we see them. I think it fitt [not] to enter into ptic̃ because lr̃es are subject to miscarrye, but you can conceive my meaning. I cañot enlarge towards you as yo^r love deserves. I hope you will consider my occasions & many lr̃es w^ch I must write.

How you should imploye any stock heere, except you send some faithfull man to manage it, I cañot advise you; onely you may drive a trade w^th the Lord heere, in helping forwarde the worke of the Gospell, by sending over some poore godly familyes w^th a yeares provision, w^ch I account one of the best workes w^ch may be pformed at this season. If you will please to rayse a Colonye heere in that mañer (w^ch would not be difficult for yo^rself w^th such godly frends as you may have to joyn w^th you) I would take off any further trouble from you about it, but I leave

it to yo^{r} consideration. So wth my hearty Salutation & due respect to y^{r} Lady, I comend you to the Lord & take my leave. I rest

Yo^{rs} to doe you service in the Lord

Jo: WINTHROP.

MASSACHUSETTS, N: Eng: Sept. 26: 1633.[1]

II.

JOHN WINTHROP TO SIR SIMONDS D'EWES.

To the right worp^{ll} S^{r} Simonds Dewes, Knight, at Lavenham in Suff: Leave this wth M^{r} Gurdon,[2] or wth M^{r} Rogers[3] of Dedham.

MUCHE HONORED S^{R},

Yo^{rs} p W^{m} Hamond I rec^{d}, acknowledging my self so muche bound to you that you are pleased to take all occasions to manifest yo^{r} good will to o^{r} Colonye & to myself in ꝑtic̄, that I would gladly have bestowed much paynes in Satisfieing y^{r} desire concerninge the estate of o^{r} Countrye & Affaires, & I did hope upon the discharge of my place to have good leysure to that end; but o^{r} new Governo^{r} (my brother Dudly) dwelling out of the ways, I was still as full of companye & business as before. But for the natives in these pts, God hath so pursued them, as for 300 miles space the greatest pte of them are swept awaye by the small poxe w^{ch} still continues among them: So as God hathe therby cleered o^{r} title to this place, & those who remaine in these pts, being in all not 50, have putt themselves under o^{r} protection & freely confined themselves & their interest w^{thin} certaine limitts.

For yo^{r} counsell of Conforminge o^{r}selves to the Ch: of E: though I doubt not but it proceeds of of y^{r} care of o^{r} wellfare, yet I dare not thank you for it, because it is not conformable to Gods will revealed in his worde. What you may doe in E: where things are otherwise established, I will not dispute; but o^{r} case here is otherwise, being come to

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[1] British Museum, Harleian MS. 388, fo. 186.

[2] Brampton Gurdon of Assington was High Sheriff of Suffolk, his seat being near the ancestral home of Gov. Winthrop. Gurdon's daughter Muriel married Richard Saltonstall (1610–1694) of Ipswich, Massachusetts, a son of Sir Richard Saltonstall.

[3] The Rev. John Rogers of Dedham, England, died 8 October, 1686. See 4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, vi. 47, 412, 413, vii. 8.

dearer light & more Lib̃tye, w^{ch} we trust by the good hand of o^{r} God wth us, & the gratious indulgence of o^{r} Kinge, we may freely enjoye it.

So desiring you to excuse my brevitye & to continue y^{r} good will towards us, I com̃end you wth yo^{r} good Lady & all y^{rs} to the gratious protectiõ & directiõ of the Lord, & so I take leave & rest

At yo^{r} service in the Lord

JO. WINTHROP.

BOSTON N: E:
July 21. 1634.[1]

III.

JOHN WINTHROP TO SIR SIMONDS D'EWES.

To the right worp^{ll} S^{r} Simondes Dewes, Knight.

SIR, — I received 2: lr̃es from you, the one written longe since & putt backe in the Hope; by the other I understande yo^{r} good affection to o^{r} Plantation, whereof you desire we should taste the fruits. Blessed be the Lord who hath inclined yo^{r} heart ther toward us for good, & blessed be you of the Lord for it. According to yo^{r} direction I spake wth Hamond, who tould me that you bestowed pte of y^{r} Moy vinegre to have made Sturgeon, w^{ch} being putt aborde the Richard was forced back again, & so by shipp & putt in aboard another shippe Suffered much losse. I spake wth M^{r} Trerice[2] the master of the same shippe, who affirmed that of 12: hogshds of vinegre there was lost by leakage about 3: hogshds. Old Hamonde came allso before the Govn^{r} (M^{r} Haines) & other of us & affirmed that there came as benefite of yo^{r} Moy but losse, so that howsoever by yo^{r} bonde we might have compelled them to have payd the whole 30^{li}, yet respecting the loss w^{ch} (by Gods providence) hapned in the adventure we were content to take the principall w^{ch} the old man hath undertaken to pay, w^{ch} when we have received it shalbe bestowed upon some publk worke. In the meane tyme the Govern^{r} & Assistants return you thanks by me.

For our condition heere the Lord is pleased still to continue health & peace to us & so to increase o^{r} numbers (there have

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[1] British Museum, Harleian MS. 388, fo. 188.

[2] Capt. Nicholas Trerice, an early inhabitant of Charlestown, was a man of substance and prominent in the commercial affairs of the Colony. See Winthrop's History of New England (1853), ii. 436, and W. Aspinwall's Notarial Records (Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xxxii.), *passim*.

come about 20: shipps this sum̃er allreadye) as we are putt to rayse new Colonys about 100: miles to the weste of us, upon a very fine river & a most fruitfull place, onely shipps cañot come neere by 20: legues. M^r^ Hooker is like to goe thither next yeare, not for any difference between M^r^ Cotton & him (soe reporte) for they doe hould a most sweet & brotherly com̃union together (thoughe their judgm^ts^ doe somewhat differ about the lawfullnesse of the Crosse in the ensigne) but that the people & cattle are so increased as the place will not suffice them. The posstinges [?] this yeare (throughe the Lords speciall providence) & their cattle are come w^th^ such speed & safety as no sickness hath been among them, nor above 2: p̃sons miscarried & very fewe cattle.

I might further inlarge but indeed I am so full of business as I can scarce gett leysure to scribble thes fewe lines. I desire you to beare w^th^ me, & to continue still yo^r^ good will towards us & yo^r^ prayres for us, & so with my love & due respecte to y^r^self & yo^r^ worthy Lady, I com̃end you to the Lord & rest

At y^r^ Service

Jo: WINTHROP.

BOSTON in New Engl^d^: July 20: 1635.[1]

IV.

JOHN WINTHROP TO SIR SIMONDS D'EWES.

To the righte wor^ll^ S^r^ Simonds Dewes, Knight, at Stowe Langthon in Suff: To be left w^th^ M^r^ Gurdon at Assington in Suff:

SIR, — The benefite w^ch^ we have received from that w^ch^ you were pleased in yo^r^ kindnesse to bestowe upon o^r^ plantation, calles upon me to give you accompt therof & to acquainte you further w^th^ o^r^ estate heere. As soone as I understood yo^r^ minde in it, I acquainted the Governo^r^ & the rest of the Assistants w^th^ it, & calling Hamonde before us, & finding by such evidence as he produced that p̃te of that 30^li^ he rec. of you miscarried by the waye, & that his estate was not able to answere what might be required of him, we thought fitt to accept of 20^li^, whereof he hath payd 10^li^; but the other 10^li^ is now desperate, for yonge W^m^ Hamond goeing w^th^ all that his father & he could make & borrowe to trade in Virginia for corne, the vessell was caste awaye upon Longe Iland & 7: p̃sons drowned. Hamonde escaped on shore, but was killed by the

[1] British Museum, Harleian MS. 388, fo. 189.

Indians & one other w^th^ him, whereby the olde man's estate is wholly overthrowne.[1]

It hath been observed that God hath allwayes crossed us in o^r^ trade w^th^ Virginia. Diverse of o^r^ people went thither above halfe a yeare since, but have not been yet heard of; there was a verye great mortality last winter: about 60: masters of shipps & other officers died there; but o^r^ people (I prayse God) have their healhe well heere. S^r^ Hen: Vane his sonne & heire is o^r^ Govern^r^ this yeare, a godly gent^l^ & of excellent pts. Heere have been allready 11: English shipps & 4: Dutche, most of them were but 5: weeks in their passage.

My tyme is short & I have manye lres to write, so as I cañt enlarge. My love & due respect to yo^r^ self & Lady rememembered, I rest

At y^r^ service,

Jo: WINTHROP.

BOSTON, N: E: June 4 [?] 1636.[2]

V.

EDMUND BROWNE TO SIR SIMONDS D'EWES.

RIGHT NOBLE S^R^, — After providenbe w^th^ a most merciful hand carried mee over the seas, w^th^ as upon or under an extended wings, and crowned my desires w^th^ an injoyment of what I long desired to see, I presently considered your loving request to present unto you a description of our New Et^e^ estate: therefore as a testimony of my reall honouring of your worth, and as a signifcãt carrecter of my gratefull reflex, I have addressed a miscelaneous display, to attend your gracing of it w^th^ a favoarable serveying of it. Had I injoyed time of inditing more refinedly, I should have presented it in a more pollisht forme, though I hate flattery and would rather both speake and doe *sancte* than *cincte*.

I hope your Wo^r^ will not be displeased if by the way it calleth in at Broomely to wayte upon your brother S^r^ Thomas,[3] my endeered master, and his Lady to whom I am much obliged.

Concerning your letter sent to M^r^ Hooker, I have not yet spooke to him, being an 100^d^ miles distant from mee, but for your satisfaction I

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[1] For further references to these two William Hammonds, see 4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, vi. 395, 396.

[2] British Museum, Harleian MS. 388, fo. 191.

[3] Sir Thomas Bowes, of Much Bromley, County Essex, whose wife was a sister of Sir Simonds D'Ewes.

shall, if it please God, send unto you our Churches apollogy either this yeere or the next to be agreed upon by all our elders & other divines, & to be dispersed for the satisfieing of all quœstionists out of desire of the truth.

And lastly, concerning a plantation for your Wor̃: I have travayled aboute to see the country and I have seene good places. The best for soyle is one Merrimacke wthin 7 miles of Ipswich and adjoyning to Newberry; yet for temper the southerne side is more excellent. Wee have grantes of 600 acres to some Gentlemen. There be many Lords that have plantations heere, but if a gentleman intendeth not to come himselfe, or to send some honest friend, nor bee carefull in his electing of godly and able men in agriculture, he will be a looser by it. Therefore in such case it is best to venter a Sum̃e of monys to be turned into cattle at the assigment and approbation of the governour M^{r} Winthrope, a godly and wise gentleman, wth whom I had some discourse about your Wo^{r} and desireth to tender his respect unto you. There is much to be gotten heere that way according to the custome of the plantation, if the Lord blesse the increase. If therefore your Wo^{r} by a plantation should not make provision of refuge for harsh times, if they should happen at England, my advice is that you would venture some thing by degrees, to bee implyed in the breeding of cattle, as 20^{l}, 40^{l}, or 60^{l}, or more as it shall please you, and I will become undertaker for the improvement of it in breeding cattell, and soe when a little stock shall be raysed then to enter upō some lotte to break up ground, w^{ch} will then yeeld 40^{s} per añn by the acre, if good. If you shall please to adventure such a sum, I intend to send for my father over the next yeere if wee live, but if you shall venter this yeere then he would come over this yeere, & soe both my selfe and hee shall be obliged to you (for by that meanes he shall have some thing to imply him in). I thanke the Lord I have convenient mayntenance, sc^{l}: 20^{l} per anñ, & much love, but now in case that I should change my condition, I would be glad to have a stocke for a lotte, as the rest of the Elders have, but I am not able to stocke it; where as if your selfe now would adventure but the tyth of what you intended, it will conduce much for my benefit, the Lord blessing it. I have appoynted one to wayte on you for an answer.

There came over one Knight, and a Lady widow, besides personages of worth, & the plantations are much peopled and inlarged this yeere. Thus wth my service to your selfe and ingenious Lady, and my prayers for either of your inlargements, I rest, remayning

Yo^{r} Wo^{r} to com̃and in all Christian service

EDMUND BROWNE.

BOSTON: Septemb: 7th [1639].

My office is yet to preach to some 4 or 5 greate familys, but I know not whether I shall settle heere; if it prove not a church, I suppose I shall not.[1]

VI.

REPORT OF EDMUND BROWNE.[2]

When God, by an over ruling hand, denyed mee liberty, w^ch^ I expected in the ship called the Nicholas of London, the Lord presented it mee in an other ship called the Thomas & Frances, where in I found some company of worth, as one M^r^ Downing who married the Governours sister, to whom I was much obliged for her matron and mother like care over mee in supplying my wants out of her treasury of provision. I was joyned in the messe w^th^ them, had a often refreshing w^th^ fresh meate and bottle beere *et cæteř*.

I was little sicke, but had my health in a competent manner. The time of our floating on the sea was some 8 weeks from the Downes, & yet wee had but 2 large winds to purpose, *sc̄t*: in carriing us out from the Downes, and in bringing us in to the land upon our discovery of it, *vidl*: Cape Cod, lying south from the bay. Wee were often put into some feare of pyrates or men of warre, but our God preserved us. When wee had bin 3 weekes at sea the contagious Pox struck in amongst us, yet ordered by the Lords power, as if it had not bin infectious; I suppose some 30 had it, yet directly I think but one or 2 dyed. It was confined within one division in our ship, *sc̄t*: midle decke, the gunroome being free unlesse some 2 or 3 childeren w^ch^ had them sparingly, and all other roome, allthough there was converse w^th^ them, were free & injoyed health.

The next day of our arrival I was invited to the Governour's to dinner, where wee had an old England table furnished for our entertaynment to my admire; in the after noone I heard M^r^ Cotton, vewing their comely order & faith, blessed be the Lord for them. The plantation I found to exceede all her sisters, though her ancestours in time, as Virginia, Bermudas, & w^ch^ not of their time, in convenient buildings, settled

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[1] British Museum, Harleian MS. 385, fo. 92. Edmund Browne is stated to have arrived in Boston in October, 1638, and to have become first minister of Sudbury, Massachusetts, in August, 1640.

[2] Enclosed with the preceding letter and addressed "To the Right Wor^ll^ my much esteemed friend Sir Simonds Dewes, deliv^r^ this at Stowlanctoft hall, Suff:"

courts, and adjacent townes. Of the Lord yet bee its protectour & inlarger, to y^e^ prayse of his name & sylensing bitter spirits w^th^ the newes of her glory.

Now concerning the plantation, this I affirme: The soyle I judge to be lusty and fat in many places, light and hot, in some places sandy botomed and in some loomy, reasonably good for all sorts of grayne w^th^out manuring, but exceding good w^th^ manure, some for wheate, some for rye &c. I saw much good corne of all sorts this yeare. The ground graseth not so well as O: E:, for wee have not brought it into a way of baring English grasse, though in some places our E: clover is found; yet it feedeth cattle very well, I have seene oxen heare y^t^ were worth some 14^l^ an oxe in O: E: and good beefe not w^th^standing their labour. Wee plow and cart w^th^ them, some farmers have two yoake of them; in many townes there be 200 head of cattel, yet because of freshcomers doe hold the price of 20^l^ a cow or ox, & mares be of the same. The land is rocky in many places, yet y^t^ grownd beareth good indian corne, w^ch^ grayne is in many places manured w^th^ fish; the corne yeeldeth greate increase, & doth compare if not excell your O: E: wheate in puddings and in being used as a boyled wheate. The land is grovy and hilly in many places, the ayre cleere and dry, the sunne is seldom enerved by any cloudy interposition.

The fruits of the earth naturally growing are abundance of strawberrys, rosberrys, goose berrys red & greene, most large grapes yet not soe delicious as old E: grapes for not pruned nor dressed, & abundance of plumb trees, all sorts of garden fruits, as roots & herbs; we have 3 kinds of mellons most delectable, the one called an aple squash, soe called from its size and pleasantness being boyled & soe prepared, a musk mellon w^ch^ is heere soe ripned w^th^ the sunne as both in smell & tast it may compare w^th^ goodly peares; alsoe a watter mellon not inferior to the best, both of these last are eaten raw. Aple trees, peare trees & plumb trees grow & beare notably heere, being planted.

Heere is greate store of fish w^ch^ the sea furnisheth us with: as abundance of Sturgeon, some salmons, hollyboat, cod, basse, a fish that in his head &c excelleth the Saïnons jowle, makerell all the somer & catched w^th^ hookes and excelleth our O: E: makerell by farre in fatnesse. There is some time a 1000^l^ basse caught in a draught at a time. Heere be abundance of oysters very large & fatte, greate lobsters, w^th^ other shell fish, much fresh water fish, though differing much from the kinds in England in regard of shape, yet not inferiour to any in goodnesse.

Heere is a large kind of deere, whose flesh is sold for 2^l^ a pound in the winter; heere be wild rabbets, & hares that have bin caught, & many of our tame rabbits, breede excellently heere. Heere bee hum birds feathered

in colours and not bigger than a dorre, a strange wonder. Heere be many upland fowle, eagles and hawkes, turkeys very large, many pigeons, abundance of black birds &c, fayre partridges in covys and many quayles; abundance likewise of sea fowles, as swan, goose, duck, teale &c, of w^ch^ abundance is taken, wee had in M^r^ Thomas family 30 to pluck in an evening the last yeere.

Mutton and Porke are usually eaten heere. Our summer for a month exceedeth in heate our O: E: sumers and our winter be colder, as I am informed by reason of a N: East wind. To conclude this relation, if the Lord put us upon some way of trading wee shall bee happy in outward injoyements, and I doe conclude that heere is that w^ch^ will bring in benefit, for its subsistence & inrichment. I suppose wee shall have a trade in fishing the next yeere, as being for the present the most secure way to fall upon.

Heere be yeerly many new plantations set upon in both the pattons [patents] to the good comfort of our spirits. Our greatest enimyes are our wolves, but yet flee man, and the musceta, being our English gnat, is exiled out of places inhabited. The Indians are wholly subjected, and wee more secure from land enimyes & añoyances by theeves then in O: England. I telle you not untrueth, our outward doore hath stood by a q't^r^ of a yeere unlocked, and men ride & travayle abroad 10 or 20 miles w^th^out sword or offensive staffe, for both wolves and Indians are affrayd of us (the Lord be praysed), there be very few Indians.

Now concerning our church way & order, both in its gathering together, electing of members, presbytery, carefull admittance, confoederate walling, and exact ejecting out by church censure, I judge apostollicall: our members either transient or manent (by a stricter tye) performe noe more or are not required to doe anything (as I have received by information) then what the Scripture requireth or maybe performed by any true proffessour; whereby the church is preserved from Sin (unlesse it erreth from this rule). Wee have not (praysed be God) such mixed assemblyes as elswhere (w^ch^ was some time my burden). Now whereas it was reported that many godly men, judged soe in England, are w^th^out any particular church, the reason is because for some reason of not being setled they doe not seeke it; or else have soe taynted their life that their condicion is questionable.

And concerning the not promiscuous baptizing of Infants, I judge the order apostolicall, for first the child of unbelievers is uncleane & unholy, the meaning of w^ch^ text I would know. Now suppose the parents of a child new borne should be excommunicated upon a scandelous course, as I conceive, during that time as they are in their persons not to partake of the Sacrament soe not their child till they

shall returne by repentance, and to be soe ejected or not admitted condicioneth man alike. 2[d] noe pastour nor teacher hath any call to baptise soe, for they bee only pastours and teachers of those (that have elected them) I meane those in the body (then or after admitted), I say the pastour being not ordeyned in generall for other places, or to live and dye a pastour in case he resyneth up his place. Soe then, if the child hath noe right, nor pastour call to baptize w[th]out his charge, as he nor the church hath ought to judge them that be w[th]out, why doe wee soe blame this order and idolize the ordinances.

But because of hast, if any shall desire any farther reasons, I shall, if the Lord please, unparte my mind more fully; and I thinke you will see the Elders answer to it, for it is to be sent unto England & I shall if God please direct it to my friends, *sẽl*: your worship &c.

Lastly, concerning the controversys, they are thus farre composed. That of them w[ch] are resident in the bay only M[r] Cotton affirmeth that primitive evidence is from the iñediate witnesse of the Spirit; now other Elders would have the Lord left free w[ch] way to worke. He is w[th] us at Boston, all the opinionatists that remayne soe are removed either w[th] M[r] Wheelwright to the Eastward, or w[th] M[r] Hutchinson unto the South part; thus God hath given a 2 fold peace unto the churches heere (his name be praysed).

M[r] Wheelwright was exiled upon conceite that he intended hostile sedition in a sermõ of his, concluding all his bretheren presbyters and their people, not tenentizd w[th] him, to be under a covenant of workes. M[rs] Hutchinson was and is a womã who led aside silly men & women into strange conclusions; I have heere presented some of them unto you: That union with Ch. is not by faith; 2 that faith is a law from 3.27: & therefore killeth; 3 y[t] there is an ingreftment into X[st] and not by faith, & y[t] a soule may bee in Ch. and yet Chrl not in it; 4 that there are no graces in the Soule, but the presence of X[st] acting, the soule being wholly passive; w[th] a many other strange contradictory conclusions, boasting much of her revelacions and scriptuerlike certaynty of them. But as the Lord hath scattered these conceited persons, soe hath he followed them strangely, & that in 2 monstrous births that one M[rs] Dyers and M[rs] Hutchinson had. The former whilst she lived in Boston, who w[th] her husband being young & lusty, and active in holding forth M[rs] Hutchinsons conceites or some of them, was delivered of a large woman child in time 2 months before her cõmpte; it was still borne, yet alive 2 houres before birth; it was on this forme: it had noe backe part of the head, the face stood low upon the breast, it had noe forehead but 4 hornes in the roome, 2 being an intch long & harde, and 2 lesse; it had apish eares placed upon the shoulders, the eyes & mouth were

strangely butting out, the nose crooked upwards, the backe & breast were prickly like a thorne backe; the sex distinguishing parts were placed on the back side beneath the back bone and the hips were anteplaced, likewise on the backe were 2 holes and 2 peeces of flesh appearing out of them; upon the toes on etch foote were 3 clawes like to a young fowle. The women called to the travayle were taken w^th^ greate vomiting (although fasting) before the very acte of bringing forth, and were sent for home w^th^ all speede because (then and not before or since) their children were taken w^th^ convulsions, by w^ch^ meanes only 2 being left and one asleepe besides midwife Hawkis (of the same stamp w^th^ her) when she was delivered, at w^ch^ time there was a great Stinke and the bed shaked. It was concealed by a confederacy, but revealed strangly & confessed, and for the trueths sake was digged up and found soe, and applyed conjecturally to their opinions.[1]

Alsoe since their removall up to the island M^rs^ Hutchinson is brought to bed of a monstrous shape, but in what forme it is not yet Knowne as the Govenour told mee, but reported to be many false conceptions in a lump.

Wee have a Cambridge heere, a College erecting, youth lectured, a library, and I suppose there will be a presse this winter. There was w^th^ us the last yeere a Lord, and this yeere came to live w^th^ us a Knight and a Lady widdow, besides other persons of worth.[2]

Mr. THOMAS MINNS presented to the Society five large mounted photographs of buildings and places in Holland that were closely associated with the Reverend John Robinson and his congregation, and described them in some interesting remarks, in substance as follows:

I.

On the front of a house in Leyden, now standing on Klok Steeg, or Bell Alley, immediately adjoining the Square on which stands St. Peter's Church, is an inscription to the effect that John Robinson, the leader of the first Puritan party banished from England, lived, taught and died there. That house, of which I now show you the photograph, was built in 1683 on the site of the original

[1] See also Winthrop's History of New England, i. 261–263, and Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, 1574–1660, p. 259.

[2] There is no signature, but the handwriting is that of the preceding letter.

house of the Pilgrims. You will see the date across the front above the windows, and below the window on the right is the tablet to Robinson. It says simply:

On This Spot
Lived, Taught, And Died
John Robinson.

1611–1625.

II.

This is a photograph of the bronze tablet set in 1891 in the outer wall of St. Peter's Church in Leyden by the National Council of American Congregational Churches in Memory of the Reverend John Robinson, whose remains lie buried in the vault beneath the church. St. Peter's Church is the largest in Leyden and was built in 1315. The tablet has at the top a ship in full sail. Below it:

The Mayflower, 1620.

In Memory of
Rev. John Robinson, M.A.
Pastor of the English Church worshiping over against
this spot, A.D. 1609–1625. Whence at his prompting
went forth
THE PILGRIM FATHERS
to settle New England
in 1620.

Buried under this house of Worship, 4 Mar. 1625.
AET. XLIX YEARS.

IN MEMORIA AETERNA ERIT JUSTUS.
Erected by the National Council of the Congregational
Churches of the United States of America.
A.D. 1891.

Arminius, the founder of the Arminian doctrine, has a monument here, 1609, with many others, Boerhaave, Scaliger, and Luzac, the friend and correspondent of Washington. Mr. George Sumner

found in the church receipt book a receipt for payment of the burial fees, of which the translation is as follows:

1625, 10th March
Open & Hire for John Robens, English preacher. 9 florins.

III.

The old Dutch Reformed Church here shown facing the canal is where tradition says the Pilgrims held their last meeting in Delfshaven before they set sail, and through this canal they passed in boats to go on board their vessel, the Speedwell, for England.

IV.

This gives the interior of the same church, quite unchanged it is said from that time. There is a visitors' book here and whether the tradition is true or not, this is an objective point for all seekers in Pilgrim history.

V.

This gives a view of the place of embarkment at Delfshaven and what is now called Pilgrims' Quay. This Quay is the long tree-shaded promenade along the canal on the left of the photograph.

Mr. HENRY H. EDES then said:

I have brought here this afternoon a well-preserved Commission, on parchment, running in the name of Queen Anne and signed by Governor Joseph Dudley and Secretary Addington, to Samuel Porter, appointing him Sheriff of the County of Hampshire. It bears date 13 August, 1702. The seal of the Province, which is appended to it by a ribbon, is in a perfect state of preservation. It has been loaned for exhibition this afternoon by a lineal descendant of the Sheriff.

Samuel Porter of Hadley was the eldest son of Samuel Porter of Windsor, who subsequently removed to Hadley, and his wife Hannah, daughter of Thomas Stanley. He was born at Hadley, 6 April, 1660, and is said to have been the first born in that town.

He was an extensive trader with England, being, in this respect, second only to John Pynchon of Springfield, and accumulated what, in his time, was accounted a great fortune. He was a Representative to the General Court, Justice of the Peace, Sheriff of the County of Hampshire and Judge of the Court of Common Pleas. He married, 22 February, 1683–84, Joanna, daughter of Aaron Cook; had fourteen children, among them Aaron who graduated at Harvard in 1708 and became the first minister of Medford; and died 29 July, 1722. One of his grandsons, — his namesake, — a Harvard graduate of the Class of 1730, was the third minister of Sherborn, while another was slain by the Indians in 1755 at Lake George.

General CHARLES GREELY LORING of Boston was elected a Resident Member.

JANUARY MEETING, 1901.

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at No. 25 Beacon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 24 January, 1901, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE, in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that a letter had been received from General CHARLES G. LORING accepting Resident Membership.

Mr. CHARLES A. SNOW offered the following vote, which was unanimously adopted:

Voted, That the Amendment of the By-Laws proposed by the Council at this Meeting is hereby adopted, so that Article 1 of Chapter III. will read as follows:

ART. 1. — There shall be Stated Meetings of the Society on the Twenty-first day of November and on the fourth Thursdays of December, January, February, March and April, at such time and place as the Council shall appoint; *provided*, however, that the Council shall have authority to postpone any, except the November, Stated Meeting, or to dispense with it altogether, whenever, for any cause, they may deem it desirable or expedient. Special Meetings shall be called by either of the Secretaries at the request of the President; or, in case of his death, absence, or inability, of one of the Vice-Presidents, or of the Council.

The Stated Meeting in November shall be the Annual Meeting of the Corporation.

The PRESIDENT announced the death of Professor MOSES COIT TYLER, a Corresponding Member, and paid a tribute to his memory as a scholar and as the author of a history of our Colonial literature.

The PRESIDENT then referred to the death of Governor WOLCOTT, announced at the last meeting, and called first upon Mr. Clifford.

The Honorable CHARLES W. CLIFFORD spoke as follows:

What can be said of Roger Wolcott which has not been already better said? We seem like laggards bringing our tributes of love, honor and respect to lay upon his bier already loaded with the immortelles of a universal grief. Yet we of this Society, which he cherished and whose Roll his name illumined, may, in some sense, have a peculiar right to mourn his death, for in his life and character were the fruitage, after two hundred and fifty years of growth, of the virtues of the Colonial stock. It was just two hundred and fifty years from the landing of the Pilgrims to the date of his graduation from Harvard University, and it was only a few years more than that from the foundation of this noble City to the date of his inauguration as Governor of the Commonwealth. What was the fundamental virtue which marked the beginning of this era and, as I say, found its richest fruit in his life and character? Steadfastness to duty, — that dominant force which enabled its possessors, with grim determination, to do the right, as it was given them to see the right, regardless of personal ease and comfort and the flowery path which leads to inactivity! It was that force which enabled the Pilgrims to breast the dashing waves upon our stern New England coast for the freedom to worship God, and it was that same force which a hundred and fifty years later threw overboard the Tea in Boston Harbor.

So it was with Wolcott. An aristocrat in all the virtues that aristocracy can develop, he was a thorough democrat in his recognition of that altruistic principle which, since it was enunciated in Palestine two thousand years ago, has been the foundation-stone of all true democracy. A Colonial aristocrat in lineage, wealth and love of ease and refined things, and all the sweeter environment which art and beauty and poetry lend to a life of leisure, that old Colonial principle of steadfastness to duty was the dominant force in his character, softened and mellowed by the democratic altruism of this later and, I believe, better age. I know something of the motive which induced him to give up that life of ease which opened so alluringly before him to tread what, to him, was the hard path

of public endeavor, and that it was not the glittering triumphs of the hour but that stern old sense of duty which impelled him. It was that which spoke in his veto, when he did what seemed to him to be right instead of courting popularity by an easy acquiescence. It was that which, in these later years, kept him at his post with untiring energy and unceasing watchfulness and rigid devotion to his public duties. It was the spirit of Phillips and of Sumner, but it lacked the sneer of the one and the egotism of the other.

It is not uncommon for us to hear a person, who bears a noble presence, who possesses the winning traits of personal courtesy, who exercises the charm of human sympathy and who exemplifies in his acts and thoughts the motto of his class, — *Noblesse Oblige*, — spoken of as "a gentleman of the old school;" but Wolcott's life proves that such is the highest type of gentleman in our modern school, and that this age, which recognizes and applauds the fact, is not degenerate.

> No beggar ever felt him condescend,
> No prince presume; for still himself he bore
> At manhood's simple level and where'er
> He met a stranger, there he left a friend.

A Unitarian in his religious belief, Wolcott was buried from Trinity Church in Boston, with the entire Commonwealth mourning at his bier. This can add nothing to his reward of duty well performed, but it does mean much to this goodly city of his home where his presence was a daily inspiration and benediction to the old Commonwealth which he served so well, and to all of us who shared his confidence and were helped and strengthened by his friendship; it means much more for the future welfare of humanity that the life and character of Roger Wolcott was the fruit which, after two hundred and fifty years, the old Colonial tree was bearing at the close of the nineteenth century.

President CARTER of Williams College paid the following tribute to Governor Wolcott:

MR. PRESIDENT, — It is only as a citizen of Massachusetts, loving such interests of the Commonwealth as know no narrow limits, the interests of good government, of education and the higher manhood, that it is proper for me to say words in honor of the late

Roger Wolcott. My acquaintance with him, beginning in the autumn of 1892 when he was a candidate for the office of Lieutenant-Governor, was not of long standing. It was my pleasure to introduce him to my fellow-townsmen at a public meeting. I did not know his family history, but, struck by the historic significance of his name, I ventured, rightly as it turned out, to connect him with distinguished governors of Connecticut. His very presence bore the stamp of distinguished ancestry, and yet nothing could have surpassed the simplicity and plainness and courtesy of the address of this high-born gentleman. The impression left upon me by the observations of that evening was that here was a man destined to a lofty career. Afterward, I saw him from time to time in various relations, and always the same fine combination of dignity and gentleness or, if I may so say, majesty and sweetness marked his appearance. When he became Governor, I think it was impossible for a sensitive person to leave him after an interview without feeling that his supreme aim was to serve the Commonwealth, that the chivalrous motto *Noblesse Oblige* had become as it were an instinctive feeling with him, and that, whatever it cost him, he would be true to the larger, deeper interests of Massachusetts. The fine prayer in his speech at the reception of the Bradford Manuscript was the expression of his true life:

> May God, in his mercy, grant that the moral impulse which founded this Nation may never cease to control its destiny; that no act of any future generation may put in peril the fundamental principles upon which it is based, — of equal rights in a free state, equal privileges in a free church, and equal opportunities in a free school.

It was, I am sure, in response to the noblest patriotism that he made his appointments. It was in response to the highest devotion, not merely to the rights of the citizens of Boston, but to the encouragement of education in the remoter, poorer towns that he vetoed the bill laying a mill-tax on all property for the benefit of common schools, — an insidious, socialistic measure not yet, I fear, annihilated.

It was in response to this same loyalty to the ideal commonwealth that Governor Wolcott vetoed more than one bill having for its object the lowering or abolition of tests of fitness for the

holding of office. By so doing, in one case, he came directly into conflict with the absurd claim of politicians who advocated, and apparently persuaded the Legislature of Massachusetts to accept, the view that a few months of service in the army ought to annul the requirement of any other test for fitness in an applicant for office. It is not to be believed that such acts cost their author nothing. He was finely sensitive to the most human motives. He had faith in popular government and legislative enactments. He did not like to send to the Legislature a message calling attention to the abandonment involved in such a bill of the life principle of democracy, — that the best equipped should serve the state; but, with Phillips Brooks, believing that "the public officer embodies the Nation's character, expresses its spirit and sanctity," and recognizing that his own training and his position left no other path for him to tread than that of fidelity to this principle, he walked steadily in that path.

I think there was always a feeling on the part of some even who honored Wolcott, that he was not in the closest touch, that he could not get into familiar relations with the common people; that a sort of frosty dignity would now and then crop out through the beautiful and uninterrupted stretches of his outward courtesy. I am not certain that this was not true; but if it was true, it did not hinder his rapid and steady advancement; and when once in the gubernatorial chair, it helped rather than impaired his lofty discharge of duty. His superb personal presence, his manly bearing when, on horseback, he represented Massachusetts in some national procession, led many to say, "He looks the king of men he really is." Of genuine sympathy for all men, of tenderness for the unfortunate, of readiness to put all his gifts and powers at the service of his fellow-citizens, he had no lack. Massachusetts has had a proud line of illustrious Governors. Some have been distinguished for eloquence, some for scholarship, some for executive power, one or two have, perhaps, had more or less a combination of all these qualities; but can we recall one whose personal presence, breadth of view, loyalty to duty, and genuine sympathy made him more worthy than he to be the foremost citizen of the Commonwealth? I like to think of him as a Galahad who —

Ever moved among us in white armor,

to whom the voice of Massachusetts history said, when he began his public career, —

> God make thee good as thou art beautiful!

I like to think that he co-operated with God in the fulfilment of that prayer, and that in all his sharp debates with the advocates of lower creeds, in all the turbulence and acclaim of crowds, in all the loneliness of the Governor's chair, he remembered the consecration. Though leaving us so young, might he not say, and do we not deeply honor him that he might truly say, — translating the Holy Grail into his ideal of service —

> In the strength of this I rode,
> Shattering all evil customs everywhere,
> And past thro' Pagan realms, and made them mine,
> And clash'd with Pagan hordes, and bore them down,
> And broke thro' all, and in the strength of this
> Come victor. . . . . .
> And hence I go and one will crown me king
> Far in the spiritual city.

The Reverend HENRY A. PARKER related some incidents of Governor Wolcott's boyhood; Mr. FRANCIS H. LINCOLN spoke of him as his schoolmate; Mr. ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS referred to the high plane which characterized his public and private career; and Mr. WILLIAM CUSHING WAIT recalled the manly stand which he took in the matter of some unjust exemptions which were proposed in connection with the Metropolitan Park assessments.

On behalf of Mr. DENISON R. SLADE, who was unable to be present, Mr. EDES communicated the following document from his family papers:

Province of the Massachusetts Bay

By His Excellency the Governour.

Whereas Messrs Richard Clarke and Joseph Lee have represented to me that they are Proprietors of certain Iron Works in the Town of

Attleboro', & have Occasion in carrying on the said Mystery of making Iron to employ Twenty men as Artificers & Labourers in the said Business; and that the taking the said men off from the said Work may be a great & irreparable Damage to their Interest, and have therefore prayed that I would excuse said Artificers & Labourers from military Duty.

I do hereby accordingly exempt from all military Duty whatsoever such persons as shall be employed by the said Clarke & Lee in the said Iron Works to the number of Twenty, during such Time as they shall be so employed.

Of which all Military Officers whom it may concern are required to take Notice & to conform themselves accordingly.

Given under my hand & Seal at Boston the 13th day of April, 1745. In the Eighteenth Year of his Majesty's Reign.

W. SHIRLEY.

Mr. EDES then said:

Neither the Council Records nor the Massachusetts Archives contain any reference to Shirley's action, nor have I been able to find any petition from Richard Clarke and Joseph Lee upon which it might have been based. These gentlemen were classmates at Harvard College, in the Class of 1729, and their subsequent careers are well known.[1]

The following letter from Mr. Joshua Eddy Crane, who has made a study of the Iron industry in southern Massachusetts, will be read with interest:

PUBLIC LIBRARY,
TAUNTON, MASS., April 24, 1902.

MR. HENRY H. EDES,

MY DEAR SIR, — Your communication of March 22nd, relating to early iron works, Attleborough, was received at Taunton during my absence, occasioned by a trip into the South, and I have been prevented from sending you an earlier reply.

I have been much interested in your letter and heartily wish that I could give you the full information required.

It seems to me that there is no doubt that the old Attleborough forge, or works, to which your letter refers, must be the bloomery with which Thomas Baylies of Taunton was associated before his settlement here in 1757. The old Attleborough works were situated within the limits

[1] See John Leigh of Agawam (Albany, 1888), pp. 47, 48 and *note*.

of East Attleborough, at Mechanicsville, or Mechanics, and have long since disappeared, but the site is still pointed out. As early as 1742, Robert Saunderson of Boston, master of the forge, sold the property to Robert Lightfoot, a merchant of Boston,[1] who was probably, in years afterward, one of several proprietors interested in the works, and in 1759 the property came into the hands of Thomas Cobb of Taunton.[2]

Thomas Baylies appears to have been at Attleborough as early as 1742;[3] it does not appear when Saunderson settled there,[4] but it is evident that such an undertaking must have been maintained by several proprietors,[5] and your newly discovered document adds an interesting chapter to the industrial history of the place.

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[1] Bristol Deeds, xxxii. 353.

[2] *Ibid.* xliii. 430.

[3] In a subsequent letter, Mr. Crane places the date of Thomas Baylies's settlement at Attleborough in 1738, on the authority of Emery's History of Taunton (ii. 3, 4), which refers incidentally to Richard Clarke's connection with the Iron works in Attleborough.

[4] But see Bristol Deeds, xli. 211 and xlv. 326, in which he is described as of Attleborough, iron-master.

[5] The Suffolk Deeds (liv. 210) record a conveyance, for £125, from Robert Sanderson [1] and William Bollan, to William Clarke of Boston, since of Attleborough, physician, of the Iron Stone in lands situated in Wrentham, Massachusetts, and Smithfield, Rhode Island, also the hill called "Iron Rocky Hill." The deed is dated 12 January, 1736.

Another conveyance (*Ibid.* lxii. 67[2]) runs from William Bollan, gentleman, Robert Sanderson, merchant, and Henry Laughton, shopkeeper, all of Boston, who, for £1000, sell to Richard Clarke of Boston, merchant, and William Clarke of Attleborough, in the county of Bristol, physician, several tracts and parcels of land in Wrentham, and one parcel in Attleborough described as follows:

Also one Third Part of Two small parcells of land purchased by the said Bollan, Laughton and Wood of Gideon Tower, William Hancock and Ichabod Peck situate in

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[1] In all of Sanderson's conveyances recorded with Suffolk Deeds which I have examined, his name is spelled without the "u," which some writers have injected into the spelling of his name. Different members of this family in Boston spelled their names Sanders, Saunders, Sanderson or Saunderson, as appears in the Town and Church Records, Suffolk Probate Files and Suffolk Registry of Deeds. Robert Sanderson, tanner, was born in Boston 16 January, 1696–97, and baptized at the Old South Church on the following day. He was the son of Robert, goldsmith, and Esther (Woodward) Sanderson of Boston, and grandson of Robert Sanderson of Hampton, Watertown and Boston, who was ordained a Deacon of the First Church in Boston 14 (12) 1668. He is believed to have been identical with Robert Sanderson, Esq., formerly of Boston, who died at Hammersmith, England, 11 December, 1789, aged 84 (Musgrave's Obituary, v. 210; Independent Chronicle, Boston, of Thursday, 3 February, 1791, No. 1162, p. 3/3), a typographical error, 84 for 94, having, perhaps, been made in stating his age. See Suffolk Probate Files, Nos. 2082, 2279, 3686, 4107, 4108, 5965; Suffolk Deeds, xxxiii. 211, xxxvi. 211, xxxviii. 183, xxxix. 220, xli. 194, 199, xliii. 195, 266, xliv. 61.

You have doubtless made some effort to find any possible reference in the records of the time, to be found at the State House, which might verify the statement relating to Gov. Shirley's order.

I do not find any helpful mention of the works except in Daggett's History of Attleborough [edition of 1894, p. 338],[1] a work of value issued after the death of the author, who was a writer of much research and for a time the President of the Old Colony Historical Society.

I should have no hesitation in welcoming the statement that merchants of Boston were interested in this enterprise as they were in others in the Old Colony. In examining some of the books of the ancient iron works in Taunton, which were written as accounts in 1742–5, now in possession of the Old Colony Historical Society, I find several names of gentlemen of Boston who were interested in the business, but I do not find the names of Richard Clarke or Joseph Lee. I do find the names of Jonas Clarke and Peter Oliver. It is very strong evidence, it seems to me, that the proprietors of the works mentioned in your letter, were the gentlemen who were graduates of Harvard, in association with others.

I am not aware of any other site of a forge in Attleborough, and

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the Township of Attlebourough in the County of Bristol as Particularly described and Bounded by a Deed from the said Hancock and Tower dated Decr 31, 1734 And by the said Peck's Deed dated March 12, 1734,

one of said parcels containing two acres and twenty-eight rods, the other four acres and one hundred and fifty-eight rods. The conveyance also includes a tract of about twenty-four acres bought by the said Bollan, Laughton and Amos Wood, all of Boston, of Samuel Bartlett, Jr., of Attleborough by his deed of 4 April, 1735; and all interests of the grantors in mines, *etc.*, on the granted premises. This deed is dated 15 July, 1736, and recorded under date of 13 November, 1741. Endorsed upon it (*Ibid.* lxii. 68) is a conveyance, for £500, from William Clarke and his wife Sarah Clarke, to Joseph Lee of Boston, merchant, of —

all our Right and Interest in the within written Deed and in all the Lands, Tenement, Hereditaments, Oar Mines, Minerals, Estate, Priviledges and appurtenances thereby Granted and Conveyed to the said William Clark.

This deed is dated 19 May, 1740, and was recorded 13 November, 1741.

Other lands in Wrentham were conveyed by Bollan and Laughton, for £1400, to Richard and William Clarke 19 July, 1737, and on 19 May, 1740, William and Sarah Clarke, for £700, convey to Joseph Lee their half interest therein. Both of these conveyances were recorded 13 November, 1741 (*Ibid.* lxii. 68–70).

[1] *See* Bliss's History of Rehoboth, p. 133.

I think that an examination of the records of the transfer of land as early as the beginning of the next century, that is, about 1800, will enable you to identify the spot. I cannot give you the name of any one residing in Attleborough who may have an acquaintance with this matter. Mr. Seaver, the Secretary of the Old Colony Historical Society, concurs with me in this expression of view.

In the sale of the property in 1742 there were —

about 15 acres of land including the Forge Pond, together with a forge containing three fires, and a cole house, Pigg house, two dwellings and granary, a stable on said premises standing, and all the utensils belonging to and proper for such a forge in good going order, the whole being under y^e^ occupation of Thomas Baylies.[1]

This property was sold to Lightfoot, a merchant of Boston, for two thousand pounds, current money of the Province, but Saunderson retained a part interest in the works for ten years, selling one-half of the forge, *etc.*, in 1752, to John Merrit of Providence.[2]

The bloomery stood on Ten Mile river.

Thomas Cobb was a son-in-law of James Leonard, Jr. of Taunton, who was an active iron-master, and was an overseer in Attleborough under Lightfoot and his associates, Lightfoot removing to Newport, in later years, and residing there some time before he disposed of his interest in the works.

If I can be of any further assistance to you, please communicate with me.

Yours very truly.

JOSHUA E. CRANE.

Mr. GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP, a Corresponding Member, read some interesting letters, written in Boston in 1779 and 1780, by the local correspondent of an old Rhode Island firm,[3] describing contemporary business, social, educational, and denominational happenings. One communication, from the Reverend Samuel Stillman of the First Baptist Church, telling of his struggles with the rulers of the dominant

[1] Bristol Deeds, xxii. 353.

[2] *Ibid.* xxxix. 390.

[3] Nicholas Brown and Company, of Providence, which became, in 1796, Brown and Ives, under which name the firm still continues.

church, throws some curious light upon the motives and methods of the party which controlled Massachusetts during the later Revolutionary period.

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS read the following paper on —

BROTHER JONATHAN.

While it may not be possible to trace the precise steps by which the term Brother Jonathan came to be applied to Americans collectively, yet as the origin of the expression has never been seriously treated and as some wholly new facts can be presented, it may be of interest to consider the subject afresh, and an examination of the generally accepted story in regard to it will be instructive as a study in the evolution of a popular legend. In the Norwich Evening Courier of Thursday, 12 November, 1846, No. 797, p. 2/4, there appeared this passage:

"The following account of the Origin of the term, '*Brother Jonathan*,' as applied to the United States will, no doubt, gratify the curiosity of a multitude of minds, no less than it has done our own. It is the first and only account we have ever seen of the origin of a term which has come into universal use. It comes to us through a friend in this city, from one of the most intelligent gentlemen and sterling Whigs in Connecticut — a gentleman now upward of 80 years of age — himself an active participator in the scenes of the Revolution. — *Ed. Courier.*

"'Brother Jonathan'—Origin of the Term as applied to the United States.

"When General Washington, after being appointed commander of the Army of the Revolutionary war, came to Massachusetts to organize it, and make preparation for the defense of the Country, he found a great destitution of ammunition and other means, necessary to meet the powerful foe he had to contend with, and great difficulty to obtain them. If attacked in such condition, the cause at once might be hopeless. On one occasion at that anxious period, a consultation of the officers and others was had, when it seemed no way could be devised to make such preparation as was necessary. His Excellency, Jonathan Trumbull, the elder, was then Governor of the State of Connecticut, on whose judgement and aid the General placed the greatest reliance, and remarked, We must consult 'Brother Jonathan' on the subject. The General did so, and the Governor was successful in supplying many of the wants

of the Army. When difficulties after arose, and the army was spread over the Country, it became a by-word, '*we must consult Brother Jonathan.*' The term Yankee is still applied to a portion, but, '*Brother Jonathan*' has now become a designation of the whole Country, as John Bull has, for England."[1]

The commentators rapidly improved upon this story. Within five years Horace Bushnell had added some attractive features, writing in 1851:

"Neither let us forget, in this connection, what appears to be sufficiently authenticated, that our Trumbull is no other than the world-renowned Brother Jonathan, accepted as the soubriquet of the United States of America. Our Connecticut Jonathan was to Washington what the scripture Jonathan was to David, a true friend, a counselor and stay of confidence — Washington's brother. When he wanted honest counsel and wise, he would say, 'let us consult brother Jonathan;' and then afterwards, partly from habit and partly in playfulness of phrase, he would say the same when referring any matter to the Congress, — 'let us consult Brother Jonathan.' And so it fell out rightly, that as Washington was called the Father of his Country, so he named the fine boy, the nation, after his brother Jonathan — a good, solid, scripture name, which, as our sons and daughters of the coming time may speak it, anywhere between the two oceans, let them remember honest

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[1] The second paragraph, with slight differences, was printed in the Supplement to the Courant (Hartford, Connecticut) of Saturday, 12 December, 1846 (xi. 199/3), preceded by the following remark:

"BROTHER JONATHAN. — The origin of this term as applied to the United States, is given in a recent number of the Norwich Courier. The editor says it was communicated by one of the most intelligent gentlemen and sterling Whigs in Connecticut, now upward of eighty years of age, who was an active participator in the scenes of the Revolution. The story is as follows."

In 1848 Bartlett, in his Dictionary of Americanisms, pp. 49, 50, printed the passages from the Supplement to the Courant, but without indicating the source. In 1859 Stuart printed the passages from the Supplement to the Courant in his Life of Jonathan Trumbull, Sen., pp. 697, 698 *note*. A file of the Supplement to the Courant is in the possession of the American Antiquarian Society of Worcester, and I am indebted to Mr. Edmund M. Barton for allowing me to consult it. After a long search, a file of the Norwich Evening Courier for 1846 was found in the office of the Norwich Bulletin. The passages in the text are copied from the original, to which an exact reference is now given for the first time. An examination of the Norwich Evening Courier for November and December, 1846, fails to disclose any further allusion to the subject.

old Connecticut and the faithful and true brother she gave to Washington."[1]

A little later, G. H. Hollister, alluding to Trumbull, remarked:

"Industrious, quiet, unselfish, trust-worthy — with a head never giddy, however steep the precipice upon which he stood, and a heart that kept all secrets confided to it as the deep wave holds the plummet that is dropped into its bosom — no wonder that Trumbull should have been selected by the first man of the world as his counselor and companion, and no wonder that he called him 'brother.'"[2]

In 1858 Ashbel Woodward said:

"We wish to note a single incident connected with the Revolutionary position of the first Gov. Trumbull. We refer to the origin of the once New-England, but now national, soubriquet of 'Brother Jonathan.' It is understood to have come into use in this wise: Washington, whose resources were generally made equal to any emergency, was, at some critical periods, greatly perplexed for want of troops, and that which was almost as necessary to insure success, the munitions of war in general. It was then, when his own great heart was almost ready to falter, that he unhesitatingly decided to fall back upon Gov. Trumbull, who was always reliable; or, as he expressed it, 'to consult Brother Jonathan.'"[3]

In 1872, Schele De Vere declared that —

"in this difficulty [Washington] found great support in the energetic and wise governor, and thus contracted the habit of saying, in every emergency, 'We must consult Brother Jonathan.'"[4]

In 1872 Stephen W. Kellogg, on the occasion of the presentation of a statue of Governor Trumbull to be placed in the Capitol at Washington, made a speech in the House of Representatives, in which he said:

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[1] Historical Estimate of Connecticut, in Work and Play, 1864, pp. 214, 215.

[2] History of Connecticut, 1855, ii. 425, 426. In a note Hollister refers to Bushnell's address, already quoted.

[3] New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xii. 60, 61. The evidence fails to show that Brother Jonathan was a sobriquet applied particularly to New Englanders.

[4] Americanisms, p. 251.

"Trumbull bore the honored title and distinction of 'the rebel Governor' in England. Washington gave him the good old homely name of 'Brother Jonathan,' by which he and his country have been and will be known the world over. Washington relied upon him, as on an elder brother, for counsel and aid all through the war. When he first assumed command of an army without ammunition and without supplies, and his council of war could devise no means to procure them, he 'consulted Brother Jonathan,' and the supplies came."[1]

In 1887 Elias B. Sanford observed:

"The relations of Governor Trumbull and Washington were those of close and intimate friendship. Washington leaned upon him as his right arm. 'Let us consult Brother Jonathan,' he would say, when any difficult matter was under consideration. The remark became so common, that, in a spirit of pleasant appreciation of the Connecticut governor, he would playfully say, when referring any matter to Congress, 'Let us consult Brother Jonathan;' and it was in this way, the nation itself, in familiar phrase, was named 'Brother Jonathan.'"[2]

Close to the house at Lebanon, Connecticut, where Governor Trumbull lived during the Revolution, is a smaller building, known as the "War Office," in which he transacted his business. In 1891 this building was restored, and on 15 June a celebration was held at which a flag was raised over the building. "A few minutes later another flag bearing, in large letters, the words, 'BROTHER JONATHAN,' was displayed from" the house once occupied by Governor Trumbull.[3]

In 1895 Mr. J. Henry Lea wrote:

"There is probably no family among our early colonial and revolutionary stock which has contributed so many distinguished men to their

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[1] The Congressional Globe, 29 April, 1872, Second Session, Forty-Second Congress, p. 2902.

In his address, A Revolutionary Congressman on Horseback, delivered in 1877, Col. T. W. Higginson remarked:

"Gov. Trumbull was revered as the only colonial governor who took the patriotic side; and is also likely to be held in permanent fame as the author of the phrase 'Brother Jonathan'" (Travellers and Outlaws, 1889, p. 63).

In making Governor Trumbull the *author* of the phrase, Col. Higginson has departed widely from the usual story.

[2] History of Connecticut, p. 234.

[3] The Lebanon War Office, 1891, pp. 27, 32, 55, 71, 75, 91. See also Early Lebanon, 1880, p. 91.

country's service in so many widely varied walks of life as the Trumbulls — preëminent among statesmen, warriors, divines, poets, painters and historians, the fame of the family must still rest, as its most enduring monument, on the patriot Governor of Connecticut whose nickname of 'Brother Jonathan,' affectionately given him by Washington, will ever stand as the prototype of American manhood and patriotism."[1]

But the climax was reached by I. W. Stuart in the following passage:

"So frequently did the Commander-in-chief appeal to the latter [Trumbull] for his deliberation and judgment, that — not only when any conjuncture of difficulty or peril arose, but even often when matters not involving peril, but simply facts and circumstances hard of solution, were under his consideration — he was in the habit of remarking — '*We must consult Brother Jonathan*' — a phrase which his intimate relations of friendship with the Governor of Connecticut fully warranted, as well as the fact — probably well known to Washington — that '*Brother Jonathan*' was the title of familiar but respectful endearment by which Trumbull was often designated in his own neighborhood and home, among a large circle of relatives, friends, and acquaintances generally.[2]

"From the marquee and council-rooms of the Commander-in-chief, the phrase '*we must consult Brother Jonathan*' passed out to the soldiery. And gradually spreading from mouth to mouth, as occasions of doubt and perplexity, and finally even of slight embarrassments, arose — soon became a popular and universal phrase in the whole American army — in use to unravel the threads of almost every entanglement — solve every scruple — unriddle every enigma — settle every confusion — smooth every anxiety — and untie even — as a kind of *pis-aller*, as a catch-phrase of wand-like power — every little Gordian knot of social converse.

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[1] New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xlix. 148. Amid the all but universal acceptance of the Trumbull story, it is pleasant to record at least one instance of caution. The late Alexander Johnston, in 1887, said that Trumbull "was the trusted associate of Washington, and the latter's familiar way of addressing him when asking his advice *is said* to have been the origin of the popular phrase 'Brother Jonathan'" (Connecticut, p. 287). The italics are mine.

[2] As Governor Trumbull had no fewer than three brothers and four sisters, it is highly probable that he may have been called "Brother Jonathan" by some if not by all of them. But that he was so called by his "friends, and acquaintances generally," is a statement in support of which no proof is offered. See *post*, p. 100 *note* 3.

"From the camp the expression passed to adjacent neighborhoods — from adjacent neighborhoods to States — and both in this way, and through the medium of returning soldiery, became propagated through the country at large — until finally, syncopated in part, it was universally appropriated, through its two emphatic words 'BROTHER JONATHAN,' as a sobriquet, current to the present day — and which will continue current, probably, through ages yet to come — for that mightiest of all Republics that ever flung its standard to the breezes of heaven — THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

"So it happens, that a Governor of Connecticut — and this the one we commemorate — by force of an exalted virtue, signally developed in himself, has enstamped his own name upon half the Continent of the New World![1] In his name a colossal nation has been baptized. The Kingdoms of the world — Principalities and Powers — now consult BROTHER JONATHAN!"[2]

If it is asked on what authority Mr. Stuart based this minute, detailed, and circumstantial account of the origin and spread of the term Brother Jonathan, there will be surprise to learn that the only evidence he could cite in support of his amazing assertions was the story given at the beginning of this paper.[3] It has apparently occurred to no one until now to submit that story to examination. A story not alluded to in the correspondence either

[1] This sentence recalls a skit which, under the title of Authenticated American Etymologies, appeared in the Massachusetts Magazine for March, 1792, iv. 161, 162:

"When the seamen on board the ship of Christopher Columbus, after a series of fatigues, came in sight of St. Salvador, they burst out in exuberant mirth and jollity. 'The lads are in A MERRY KEY,' cried the commodore. AMERICA is now the name of half the globe."

Mr. Stuart seems to have been one of those mortals who, in the words of Lowell, "have been sent into the world unfurnished with that modulating and restraining balance-wheel which we call a sense of humor."

[2] Life of Jonathan Trumbull, Sen., 1859, pp. 696–698. Of this work, Mr. Henry C. Robinson has recently said that "were it written in a simpler style, [it] would doubtless be found in more libraries. . . . But the days of bloated rhetoric are past" (Jonathan Trumbull, 1898, p. 4). It need scarcely be added that Mr. Robinson himself accepts the Trumbull story:

"Washington was wont to speak of Governor Trumbull as 'Brother Jonathan.' This pet description of Trumbull by the 'Father of his Country' has been well transferred to the personification of the investigating, progressive, liberty-loving nation which Washington and Trumbull did so much to create" (*Ibid.* p. 21).

[3] See *ante*, p. 95 *note*.

of Washington or of Trumbull; a story unknown to the contemporaries of either; a story unheard of until forty-seven years after the death of Washington, sixty-one years after the death of Trumbull, and seventy-one years after Washington took command of the American forces; a story the author of which has never been discovered, but which comes to us from an unknown octogenarian, who, as he was upwards of eighty years of age in 1846, was therefore upwards of *nine* years of age in 1775, and whose services as "an active participator in the scenes of the Revolution" could scarcely have been of an arduous nature;[1] a story unsupported by one iota of corroborating evidence, — to such a story obviously no credence can be given. It is, in short, a newspaper story pure and simple, and as such should have been received with caution from the beginning. When will biographers and historians, in dealing with a question of etymology, instead of accepting without examination the first account that comes to hand, inquire into the history of a word or phrase, and apply the same rules of evidence to alleged etymological facts that they apply to alleged historical facts? Moreover, it will not escape notice that, in these accounts of Trumbull, Washington figures in quite a subordinate character; but surely, the services rendered by Trumbull[2] were of sufficient consequence not to need bolstering up by details drawn from what, with the evidence at present in our possession, must be pronounced a purely imaginary story. It is incumbent on those who accept this, either to offer proof in its support, or, failing that, to withdraw it.[3]

[1] From our associate Mr. Charles K. Bolton, who has kindly allowed me to read the manuscript of a book he is about to publish, — The Private Soldier under Washington, — I learn that many of the recruits were mere boys, some at the opening of the war being under sixteen. It is possible, therefore, that the gentleman from whom we get the story, even if only nine in 1775, might have served towards the close of the war. However, the age of the gentleman is of as little importance as is the assurance that in 1846 he was one of the most "sterling Whigs in Connecticut."

[2] A letter written by Washington, 1 October, 1785, to Jonathan Trumbull, Jr., contained this sentence: "A long & well spent life in the service of his Country, justly entitled him to the first place among patriots." See *post*, p. 183.

[3] Before taking leaving of the Trumbull story, attention may be called to several passages. Soon after the origination of that story, an amusing variation was suggested. In 1852 an unknown person wrote from La Valette, Malta, as follows:

One of the many theories in regard to the derivation of the word Yankee was advanced by the Reverend William Gordon,

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"THE AGNOMEN OF 'BROTHER JONATHAN' OF MASONIC ORIGIN.

"George Washington, commander-in-chief of the American army in the revolution, was a mason, as were all the other generals, with the solitary exception of Arnold the traitor, . . . On one occasion, when the American army had met with some serious reverses, Washington called his *brother officers* together, to consult in what manner their effects could be best counteracted. Differing as they did in opinion, the commander-in-chief postponed any action on the subject, by remarking, 'Let us consult brother Jonathan,' referring to Jonathan Trumbull, who was a well known mason, and particularly distinguished 'for his sound judgment, strict morals, and having the tongue of good report'" (Notes and Queries, First Series, v. 149).

In a letter written 19 February, 1776, by Jedidiah Huntington to Governor Trumbull, occurs this sentence:

"The bearer, whom I should have mentioned in the beginning of my letter, is Mr. Hooper, of North Carolina, one of the delegates of Congress, an old and particular acquaintance of brother Jonathan's" (5 Massachusetts Historical Collections, ix. 514).

Jedidiah Huntington married Faith Trumbull, the oldest daughter of Governor Trumbull; and the "brother Jonathan" alluded to was Jonathan Trumbull, Jr., the second son of Governor Trumbull. In a letter written 27 April, 1775, Huntington said that he "expected to have seen Brother Joseph by this time," meaning Joseph Trumbull, the oldest son of Governor Trumbull. In letters written 21 September, 1775, 14 January and 29 March, 1776, Huntington mentioned "brother David," referring to David Trumbull, the third son of Governor Trumbull. In letters written 17 August, 21 September, 1775, and 1 April, 1776, Huntington spoke of "Brother John" or "brother Jack," alluding to John Trumbull, the fourth and youngest son of Governor Trumbull, and the future artist (5 Massachusetts Historical Collections, ix. 496, 499, 504, 509, 514, 516, 517).

It was of course natural for Huntington to call these four men "brothers," because they were his brothers by marriage. If any one, not a near relative, ever alluded to Governor Trumbull as "Brother Jonathan," the fact could hardly have escaped contemporary record; and if Governor Trumbull had been so referred to by Washington, surely the honorable mark of distinction would have excited comment. It is reasonable to expect to find some allusion to the designation in the History of Jonathan Trumbull, the present Rebel Governor of Connecticut, from his Birth, early in this Century, to the present Day, — which, unfriendly and valueless, appeared in the Political Magazine for January, 1781, ii. 6–10; in the Rev. Z. Ely's Sermon Preached at the Funeral Solemnity Of His Excellency Jonathan Trumbull, and in the obituary notices which appeared, in 1785; in the Rev. Z. Ely's Discourse, in President T. Dwight's Discourse, and in the Biographical Sketch of the Character of Governor Trumbull (attributed to John Trumbull, a nephew of the first Governor Trumbull, and the author of M'Fingal), all occasioned by the death of Jonathan Trumbull, Jr., also Governor of Connecticut, in 1809; in the sketch of the first Governor Trumbull printed in 1839 in J. B. Longacre and J. Herring's National Portrait Gallery

who in 1788 declared that the word was a favorite cant expression with a certain Jonathan Hastings of Cambridge, Massachusetts, about 1713.[1] It is not my purpose to discuss this theory, and I mention it at all only because it was reproduced by a writer in an English review in 1814, and drew from the editor the following question:

"May not the characteristic name of Jonathan applied to the people of the United States owe its origin to the same person?"[2]

The origin of the term was also attributed, by another English writer, in 1861, to Jonathan Carver, the noted traveller.[3] On this principle, the expression could be traced back to the first person who rejoiced in the christian name of Jonathan. And indeed we seem almost to have reached that point in the passage which is now to be considered. In 1643 there was printed at London a pamphlet called The Reformado.[4] This purports to be a harangue delivered by a Churchwarden of St. Clement's Church, Eastcheap. The speaker, beginning with the weathercock on the steeple, considers in turn every separate thing pertaining to the ornaments or furniture of the church, and declares how each ought to be dealt with: some must be wholly done

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of Distinguished Americans, iv.; and, most of all, in the Autobiography, Reminiscences and Letters which John Trumbull, the artist, and son of the first Governor Trumbull, published in 1841. But we search in vain for any trace of the story until 1846.

Finally, even if it can be shown that Washington did at some time allude to Governor Trumbull as "Brother Jonathan," the fact would not necessarily indicate the origin of our present expression. In this very note it has been shown that Jonathan Trumbull, Jr., actually was called "Brother Jonathan:" yet surely no one will be rash enough to assert that such a designation has the remotest connection with the term Brother Jonathan as applied to Americans.

[1] History of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment of the Independence of the United States of America, i. 481, 482.

[2] New Monthly Magazine, ii. 213 *note*.

[3] Notes and Queries, Second Series, xi. 263, 326, xii. 274.

[4] The full title is: THE REFORMADO, Precisely Charactered by a Transformed Church-warden, at a *Vestry*, LONDON. The first sentence in the above passage was quoted by a writer in Notes and Queries, 1859, Second Series, vii. 444; but as, apart from the context, it was utterly inexplicable, I sent to the British Museum for a copy of the pamphlet, and from this the passages in the text are printed. There is no date on the title-page, but in the British Museum Catalogue it is dated 1643.

away with, while others need only be transformed. The passage which concerns us is as follows:

"Queene ELIZABETHS *Monument* was put up (at my charge) when the *Regall Government* had fairer credit among us than now: and her *Epitaph* was one of my Brother *Jonathan's* best *Poems*, before hee abjured the *University*, or had a thought of *New-England*. I have had no small strugling within me about the *toleration* or *abolition* of this *Statue;* and at last, have resolv'd it shall continue, but with a *Curtaine* to vaile it, that wee may regard, or dis-regard it at our pleasure: For, methinks in Forty foure yeares reigne, she might (if she pleased) have *bated the Beast of Rome* to better purpose, and wrought a more *through Reformation*" (p. 9).

In regard to this passage, three views seem possible. First, as it will not do to take the pamphlet too seriously, it may be held that the monument existed only in the imagination of the speaker. Secondly, perhaps there actually was in the church a statue of Elizabeth. Thirdly, it may have been one of those "monuments" of Queen Elizabeth which at that time were often seen in London churches. Writing in 1656, Fuller said:

"Queen *Elizabeth*, the mirrour of her Sex and Age, . . . exchanged her Earthly, for a Heavenly Crowne; . . . Her Corps were solemnly interred under a fair Tomb in *Westminster;* the lively Draught whereof, is pictured in most *London*, & many Countrey Churches, every Parish being proud of the shadow of her Tomb; and no wonder, when each Loyal Subject erected a mournfull Monument for her in his heart."[1]

An examination of Stow's Survey of London[2] makes it reasonably certain that the third view is the correct one. In the 1618 edition of that work (p. 406), it is stated that St. Clement's "is a small Church, void of monuments, other then of, Francis Barnam, Alderman, who deceased, 1575, and of Benedict Barnam his sonne, Alderman also, 1598." In the edition of 1633 (p. 832), we read:

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[1] Church-History of Britain, Book x, ¶ 12, pp. 4, 5.

[2] First published in 1598, other editions appeared in 1603, 1618, and 1633, the last with large additions by Anthony Munday and Henry Dyson. It was not again reprinted till 1724, when Strype brought out his edition. The 1618 edition does not mention these "monuments," but the edition of 1633 records "*all the Monuments of Queene* Elizabeth, *as they are in every Church*" (p. 819).

THIS Church was repaired and beautified at the cost & charge of the Parishioners, in the yeere of our Lord God, 1632.

Iohn Stoner
Thomas Priestman } Churchwardens.

Queene *Elizabeths* Monument.
Monumentum Elizabethæ.

In the figure of a Booke.
Psal. 125.

They that trust in the Lord, shall bee as Mount Sion, which cannot be removed, but remaineth for ever.

On the one side.

Spaines rod, Romes ruine,
Netherlands reliefe,
Heavens jem, Earth's joy,
Worlds wonder, Natures chiefe.

On the other side.

Britaines Blessing,
Englands Splendor,
Religions Nurse,
The Faiths Defendor.

I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, &c.

Of the one hundred and twenty-two churches described by Stow, no fewer than thirty-five contained, in 1633, "monuments" to Queen Elizabeth.[1] The inscriptions on these monuments were sometimes in prose, sometimes in verse, and sometimes both in prose and verse. The lines given above appear, in whole or in part, in twelve churches besides St. Clement's. To speak of these doggerel lines as among "my Brother Jonathan's best

[1] In addition there was one church, St. Mildred, Bread Street, where —

"Betweene these two [Windows], at the upper end of the Church, is a faire Window full of cost of beauty, which being divided into five parts, carries in the first of them a very artfull and curious representation of the Spaniards great Armado, and the battell in 1588. In the second, of the Monument of Queen *Elizabeth*" (p. 859).

Poems" is in keeping with the satirical nature of the pamphlet.[1] It is possible that the author of this "poem" was known in 1643, and that he was some one whose christian name was Jonathan. But another passage in the pamphlet seems to aid us here:

"We have but one *Manuscript*, (I *meane the Register*) and that must be *Corrected;* for the names of all those that were *crost* at their *Baptisme*, ring'd at their *Marriage*, or pray'd over at their *Buriall* shall be *cancell'd*. No *Names* henceforth shall be ingrossed here, unlesse they were first *Registred* in holy *Writ*" (p. 8).

Is it unreasonable to conclude that the speaker attributed the authorship of the lines to some hypothetical Puritan, to whom the scripture name of Jonathan might appropriately be given? At all events, it is a far cry from "my Brother Jonathan" of the 1643 pamphlet to our modern term Brother Jonathan.

Leaving these unprofitable guesses, and turning to the facts in the case, we find that the problem is in reality a difficult one. It is only within recent years that the term has been recognized by lexicographers; and, so far as I am aware, the only example of the expression which has ever been cited is one given below under date of 1822.[2] Consequently, nothing is known as to the history of the term. It was asserted by some unknown person, at some uncertain time, but between 1815 and 1822, that "Brother Jonathan" exclaimed that a song supposed to have been composed

[1] A single extract, towards the end, will sufficiently indicate its character in this respect:

"These, with some other things (I know not well what) are the *Compendium* of my thoughts, leaving nothing *materiall* to the care of my Successors, but the subversion of the *Crosse-Ile*, the *demolishing* of the *Arches*, (if without danger it bee *feisable*) and the *turning* of the maine *structure North*, and *South*, (which now most *offensively* stands *East* and *West*) or taking it all asunder for a purer *Edification*. Now onely remaines, that in a pretty *Diminitive Vote*, you please to give your Brotherly assent unto the premises" (p. 15).

[2] In Worcester's Dictionary of 1860 will be found the following:

"JONATHAN, *n.* . . . 2. A sportive collective name applied to the people of the U. States."

Worcester refers to Johnson; but no edition of Johnson's Dictionary previous to 1860 that I have seen contains the word.

The passage in the text was written in January, 1901, and in July following appeared the section of the Oxford English Dictionary containing the word Jonathan. Dr. Murray's earliest example is dated 1816.

in 1755 "was *nation* fine."[1] Could this statement be substantiated, it would be interesting; but there is no reason for believing that the alleged song was composed in 1755, and as little for thinking that the term Brother Jonathan was in existence at so early a period. It is not until well into the Revolutionary war that we find any trace of the term under discussion, and then it appears in a slightly different form. It is of course needless to say that all through the war, songs and ballads were constantly appearing in the newspapers, both loyal and patriotic. From one of these, which is found in a New York paper of October, 1778, the following is quoted:

YANKEE DOODLE'S *Expedition to Rhode-Island.*
Written at Philadelphia.

I. From Lewis, Monsieur Gerard[2] came
To Congress in this town Sir,
They bow'd to him, and he to them,
And then they all sat down Sir,
Chorus. Yankee Doodle, &c.

II. Begar said Monsieur one grand *Coup*
You shall *bientot* behold Sir,
This was believ'd as Gospel true,
And Jonathan *felt bold Sir.*[3]

---

[1] In H. Niles's Principles and Acts of the Revolution in America, 1822, p. 372.

[2] C. A. Gérard was the French Minister.

[3] The letters and squibs of this time frequently allude to the Americans as "feeling bold," and the Loyalists appear to have regarded it as a huge joke; but the exact significance of the phrase is obscure. Perhaps an extract from "Observations on the Government account of the late action near Charles Town," which appeared in an English magazine soon after the battle of Bunker Hill, may give a clue to the origin of the phrase. The writer, it need scarcely be said, was friendly to the Americans:

"But, 'this action has shewn the superiority of the King's troops.' — Has it indeed? How? — 'Why, they (with a proportion of field artillery, and with the assistance of ships, armed vessels, and boats, and with the encouragement of certain and speedy reinforcement if necessary) attacked and defeated above *three times* their own numbers.' — What *three times* their own numbers? Of whom, pray? Of French or Spanish Regulars? — No, of the Americans — Of the Americans! What, of those dastardly, hypocritical cowards, who (Lord Sandwich knows) do not *feel bold* enough to dare to look a soldier in the face!" (Almon's Remembrancer, 1775, i. 126/1).

III. So Yankee Doodle did forget
The sound of British drum Sir,
How oft it made him quake and sweat
In spite of Yankee Rum Sir.

IV. He took his wallet on his back,
His Rifle on his shoulder,
And *veow'd* Rhode-Island to attack
Before he was much older.

. . . . . .

IX. As Jonathan so much desir'd,
To shine in martial story,
D'Estaing with politesse retir'd
To leave him all the glory.[1]

In July, 1779, the British made an attack upon Fairfield, Connecticut, and the affair was thus described in a loyal paper:

"*Huntington Bay*, 11 *o'clock*, *July* 10, 1779. About 5 P. M. landed about a mile and an half west of the fort at Fairfield, one division consisting of Jagers, . . . the advanced corps drew up a little short of the town where they proposed remaining, but the enemy bringing a 6 pounder on their left to enfilade them, they were obliged to move forwards and drive the enemy from the lower heights in front of the town which they occupied with this field-piece, this they effected with little loss and difficulty; Jonathan very prudently removing himself to the upper heights at a very decent distance where he amused himself with firing long shot till about 8 o'clock, . . . Fairfield, till 6 in the evening remained as before, when an order came for the advanced troops to retire a little nearer the town; Jonathan imagining the dread of him had inspired this motion felt very bold, and advancing nearer, got in behind some houses in front of the town, and flattering himself he was then in security, threw his shot something thicker about him, the troops faced about, drove Jonathan from his fancied fortress and then set fire to these few alone which had emboldened and afforded cover to their enemies; . . . Gen. Tryon then sent a flag to them by the clergyman of the place, offering, if they would return to their allegiance, the town should be spared, and those who would come in should remain unmolested; this generous offer Jonathan did not think fit to comply with, but

[1] Royal Gazette, 3 October, 1778, No. 210, p. 3/2. The song consists of twelve stanzas.

cannonaded his own town all night, the consequence of which was, in the morning the troops set it on fire, and they re-imbarked."[1]

In the same paper there also occurs this account:

"Jonathan has got another drubbing.

"Last week the rebel general Clinton, with a detachment from Mr. O'Sullivan, was attacked on their march near Wyoming, by a party under the command of *Joseph and his Brethren*, the particulars of which we hope to give in our next."[2]

In May, 1780, we find the following:

"Last Monday afternoon Col. Delancey with a party of his Loyal Refugees, made an incursion of about 30 miles into the enemy's country. The foot took post at Byron Bridge, while the horse passed Sherwood's Bridge, and proceeded to Horseneck, where a party of rebels were stationed — they immediately attacked them, killed 8, took prisoners a Lieutenant, a Commissary, a Mr. Knap a Presbyterian Parson, and 36 rank and file, also took and destroyed a piece of cannon, which the Jonathans in vain endeavoured to defend; the Loyalists were so quick upon them, that they could not discharge it more than twice before it was taken possession of."[3]

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[1] Royal Gazette, 14 July, 1779, No. 291, p. 3/1.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 3/1. By Joseph and his Brethren are meant the famous Joseph Brant and his Indians. At the celebration of the King's birthday, on the previous 4 June, the twenty-third toast drunk was to "Joseph and his Brethren" (*Ibid.*, 5 June, 1779, No. 280, p. 2/4). By Mr. O'Sullivan is apparently meant General John Sullivan. According to a later account, the attack by Brant was not near Wyoming but near Oneida Lake:

"The action between Capt. Brant in person with the Loyalists and Indians, and the rebel commander Clinton, happened near a fortnight ago, about thirty miles above Fort Stanwix, near the east end of Oneida Lake" (*Ibid.*, 17 July, 1779, No. 292, p. 3/2).

As a matter of fact, the report of the action appears to have been false. Gen. James Clinton was not at Wyoming in June or July; neither Clinton nor Sullivan was at Oneida Lake; and Brant, who was about midway between Clinton and Sullivan, did not attack either at the time of the alleged battle. See an article by our associate Mr. A. McF. Davis in the Narrative and Critical History of America, vi. 639; W. L. Stone, Life of Joseph Brant, 1838, i. 396–422, ii. 1–52; F. W. Halsey, Old New York Frontier, 1901, pp. 265–267; and Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General John Sullivan against the Six Nations of Indians in 1779, *passim*.

[3] Royal Gazette, 27 May, 1780, No. 382, p. 2/4. Byron Bridge is an error for Byram Bridge.

From a contemporary account of the proceedings at Charleston, South Carolina, in 1780, is taken the following:

"The 21st [April], produced a flag from the rebels, asking terms; their demands were unreasonable, of course rejected, and the firing again commenced about 11 at night. The day following the reinforcement landed from New-York; and we are happy in hearing that the detachment with Col. Webster, is so well posted on the Hobcaw side, that the rebels cannot escape. — Well knowing there is no created thing can equal Jonathan for a slippery trick, — we were afraid his escape might be effected that way; especially as there were a great number of boats in town kept in readiness for that purpose."[1]

In June, 1780, an affair occurred in New Jersey about which there were conflicting reports. The following passage reflects both sides:

"From the Boston Gazette, dated June 26. *Extract of a letter from Fairfield, dated June* 16. 'A gentleman this moment has come off Long-Island, and brings account that the enemy, in their late manoeuvre into the Jersies, have met with a repulse, and their loss sustained is 150 men killed, 3 or 400 wounded . . . '

"☞ *Every endeavour has been used to exaggerate the loss of the King's Troops, to represent it as considerable, and conceal that of the rebels in this Jersey affair. We are assured from an authority which never misled us, that our militia* gentry *in particular, on the excursion, were uncommonly chastised, and that in one of the skirmishes those of Essex county* alone *were corrected to the amount of* 114 *killed, wounded, and missing. The Newark adventurers too were copiusly phlebotomized, many of the republican families in East Jersey have lost their* daddies *and* brother Jonathans, *whilst others are smarting and groaning under the wounds received from the animated fire which drove them to their recesses and defiles."*[2]

Not long after the battle of Camden, which resulted so disastrously for the Americans, there appeared in a New York paper a poem from which the following is extracted:

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[1] Royal Gazette Extraordinary, 8 June, 1780, p. 2/3.

[2] Royal Gazette, 5 July, 1780, No. 393, p. 3/1. In the same paper of 22 July, No. 398, p. 3/2, occur these two lines, apparently having no connection with what goes before or comes after:

"Jonathan these babies of thine
Are not all Children genuine."

A

PASTORAL ELEGY.

Set to Music by *Signora Carolina.*

JONATHAN. ISAAC.

ISAAC. (*Allegro.*)

O wherefore, brother Jonathan,
So doleful are your features?
Say, are you rather poorly, man,
Or have you lost your creatures?

JONATHAN. (*Piano.*)

Ah, wou'd to Heaven that were all!
But worse I have to mention,
For Gates, our gallant general
Has made a new convention.

ISAAC. (*Vivace.*)

Then Jonathan prick up your ears;
Why don't you smile and caper?
Why, we 'll enlist the Regulars,
And pay them with our paper.[1]

. . . . . .

JONATHAN. (*Piano.*)

A thousand slaughter'd friends we've lost,
A thousand more are taken;
Horatio's steed, which gallop'd post,
Has sav'd his rider's bacon.[2]

DUETTO. (*Affetuoso.*)

Now mourn with sackcloth cover'd o'er,
Our Israel forsaken!
So many slain — while such a Boar
As Gates shou'd save his bacon.[3]

On 19 December, 1782, the American vessel the South Carolina was captured off the Delaware by the British ships Quebec, Diomede, and Astrea, and taken into New York; and in a few days there appeared in a paper some verses purporting to come

[1] The Loyalists constantly poked fun at the depreciated American currency.

[2] Gates is said to have hardly paused in his flight until he reached Hillsborough, North Carolina.

[3] Royal Gazette, 27 September, 1780, No. 417, p. 3 / 1.

"*From dejected* JONATHAN, *a Prisoner taken in the* South Carolina, *to his Brother* NED *at Philadelphia*," of which the following is a stanza:

I die to relate what has been our fate,
How sadly our Navies are shrunk;
The pride of our State begins to abate,
For the branches are lopp'd from the trunk.[1]

Reviewing the extracts which have thus far been given, it is clear that the word Jonathan was used by the Loyalists[2] and applied by them in mild derision to those who espoused the American cause. We find an individual American called a Jonathan, we find a number of Americans called Jonathans, we find Americans collectively called Jonathan, and we also find the term Brother Jonathan. Why the particular name Jonathan should have been selected, is one of those questions easy to ask but difficult, if not impossible, to answer.[3] The fact that that was the christian name of Governor Trumbull may have had something to do with the adoption of Jonathan rather than of another name;[4] but there is nothing in the evidence to support

[1] *Ibid.*, 28 December, 1782, No. 653, p. 2/3. There are 12 stanzas.

[2] And also, perhaps, by the British serving in America. Still I have noted no instances of the employment of the term in such diaries, journals, and letters of British officers as I have read.

[3] Why should Tom, Dick, and Harry be brought together in collocation? Why, when speaking to a strange boy in the street, do we address him as Johnny? Why is a sailor called Jack? Why is Old Harry regarded as a particularly appropriate designation for the Devil? Apparently all we can do in such cases is to state the fact.

[4] In the Royal Gazette of 14 June, 1780, No. 387, p. 3/2, will be found the following:

"*Extract of a letter, dated Middletown, May* 23. 'Governor Trumbull received an express from General Washington yesterday, desiring him to forward a large quantity of provisions to New-London immediately, as a fleet might be expected there in a few days, . . . Charlestown was safe the 4th instant, but since that a bloody battle has been fought there, but can't get the particulars.'

"[*Master Jonathan ecce the Capitulation and Lincolnade of the* 12*th ultimo, published by the Printer last Thursday.*"

The words in italics were doubtless written either by James Rivington, the publisher of the Royal Gazette, or by some one in the office of the paper; but whether they are to be understood as an apostrophe to Gov. Trumbull or to Americans in general, is not clear.

The word Lincolnade requires explanation. The surrender of Burgoyne at

the notion that such was the case. Nor is there anything to show that the word was applied particularly to the men of Connecticut, or even to those of New England.

It will be observed that as yet the term has not been employed by the men who espoused the American cause. Hardly, however, had the Revolutionary war ended, than we find the use of the word Jonathan becoming somewhat widespread as applied to a country bumpkin, varied by an occasional instance of the term Brother Jonathan. In 1787 there was acted at New York a comedy called The Contrast, written by Royall Tyler of Boston. It is interesting to note that in this play, under the name of Jonathan, the stage Yankee made his first appearance in literature.[1] In a collection of patriotic songs, published in 1800,

Saratoga in 1777 gave rise to the verb "to Burgoyne" and to the noun "Burgoynade," instances of which occur, on both sides of the Atlantic, for several years after the catastrophe at Saratoga. When General Lincoln was obliged to capitulate at Charleston, the Loyalists, doubtless remembering the terms just mentioned, coined the word Lincolnade. The following extracts are in point:

"The LINCOLNADE was acted on the 12th [May]. . . . An entire regiment of militia, (secretly well affected to Government,) inhabiting the back parts of South-Carolina, . . . no sooner heard of the *Lincolnade* at Charlestown than they seized their Colonel (Thomson) their Lieutenant Colonel, Major, and several other officers devoted to the Congress, brought them to Charlestown, [and] delivered them to the Commander in Chief. . . . *This repetition is inserted by way of convincing the Infidels without our lines, that the town* [i. e. Charleston] *is taken, and their army LINCOLNADED.*" (Royal Gazette, 8 June, 1780, p. 2/3; 17 June, 1780, No. 387, p. 2/4; 1 July, 1780, No. 392, p. 3/2.)

[1] The Contrast was first performed at the John Street Theatre, New York, 16 April, 1787, was first printed at Philadelphia in 1790, and was reprinted at New York in 1887 by the Dunlap Society. The character called Jonathan was the servant, or the waiter, — "Servant! Sir, do you take me for a neger, — I am Col. Manly's waiter," — of Colonel Manly, a hero of the Revolutionary war from Massachusetts. In the third act there is an amusing scene in which Jonathan relates how he was taken to the theatre without his knowing it. Some passages follow:

JENNY.

So, Mr. Jonathan, I hear you were at the play last night.

JONATHAN.

At the play! why, did you think I went to the devil's drawing-room?

JENNY.

The devil's drawing-room!

JONATHAN.

Yes; why an't cards and dice the devil's device; and the play-house the shop where

there was one which must have been written in 1798, when war with France was thought imminent. Two stanzas are as follows:

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the devil hangs out the vanities of the world, upon the tenter-hooks of temptation. . . . Oh! no, no, no! you won't catch me at a play-house, I warrant you.

JENNY.

Well, Mr. Jonathan, though I don't scruple your veracity, I have some reasons for believing you were there: pray, where were you about six o'clock?

JONATHAN.

Why, I went to see one Mr. Morrison, the *hocus pocus* man; they said as how he could eat a case knife. . . .

JESSAMY.

Well, and did you see the man with his tricks?

JONATHAN.

Why I vow, as I was looking out for him, they lifted up a great green cloth, and let us look right into the next neighbour's house. Have you a good many houses in New-York made so in that 'ere way?

JENNY.

Not many: but did you see the family?

JONATHAN.

Yes, swamp it; I see'd the family. . . .

JENNY.

Well, Mr. Jonathan, you were certainly at the play-house.

JONATHAN.

I at the play-house! — Why did n't I see the play then?

JENNY.

Why the people you saw were players.

JONATHAN.

Mercy on my soul! did I see the wicked players?

(The Contrast, 1790, pp. 39, 40, 41, 43.)

The following contemporary notice of the play may not be without interest:

"On Monday evening last, for the first, and last evening for the second time, was performed, at the theatre in this city, amid continued roars of applause, a COMEDY (composed by an American) called the CONTRAST. Novelty, says a correspondent, is ever pleasing: an American comic production is a novelty — therefore it was pleasing. . . . The striking Contrast, in this piece, is, between a person who had made his tour of Europe, studied the *bon ton*, with his *galloned* attendant . . . and an heroic, sentimental American Colonel, with his honest *waiting-man*" (New-York Journal, 19 April, 1787, No. 2111, p. 3/3).

SONG VIII.

BROTHER JONATHAN.

[Perhaps not out of season.]

I WONDER what the racket means,
A cutting of fresh capers;
The Parson says the French are mad,
He reads it in the papers.

CHORUS.

Heigho, ho! Billy Bow,
I b'lieve the War's a coming,
'N' if it does, I'll get a gun,
Soon's I hear them drumming.

An' I heard 'em say, a training day,
That's Washington's a going;
An' Capen Toby swears they'll fall
Like grass when he's a mowing.[1]

Clearly the hero of this song was merely a country bumpkin, and no doubt it was in this sense that Thomas G. Fessenden used the word when he made Jonathan Jolthead the hero of his poem called The Country Lovers, written in 1804. It begins as follows:

A MERRY tale I will rehearse,
As ever you did hear, sir,
How Jonathan set out, so fierce,
To see his dearest dear, sir.[2]

Two or three years later, Jonathan appears again in the title of a play written by Lazarus Beach, this time in the person of an old countryman from Connecticut.[3]

[1] The Nightingale; or Rural Songster, Dedham, 1800, pp. 117, 118.

[2] The Country Lovers; or, Mr. Jonathan Jolthead's Courtship with Miss Sally Snapper: An excellent New Song, said to be written by its Author; And really founded on fact. Tune — 'Yankee Doodle.' In Original Poems, Philadelphia, 1806, pp. 69–85.

The word Jolthead itself, it need scarcely be said, means either a large head, or a dunce or blockhead. In the former sense it was used in 1664 by J. Wilson in the Cheats, v. i.; and in the latter sense in 1623 by Shakspere in the Two Gentlemen of Verona, iii. i. 290, and in the Taming of the Shrew, iv. i. 169, and in 1767 by Sterne in Tristram Shandy, vol. ix. chap. xxv.

[3] Jonathan Postfree, or the Honest Yankee. A Musical Farce. In Three Acts. New York, 1807. In a prefatory note it is said that the play "was

In a song which from its title, — The Embargo, A New Song, — must have been written about this time, we again find allusion to Jonathan as a country bumpkin. The eighth stanza and chorus are as follows:

Then Jonathan and I went down,
To look around the wharf Sir,
And there we see a hundred men,
Shoving a big boat off Sir.

Yankee Doodle Keep it up,
Yankee Doodle Dandy,
We 'll soak our hides in home made Rum,
If we can't get French Brandy.[1]

In our next extract we get what, so far as I am aware, is the earliest description of the characteristic features of Brother Jonathan which are now so familiar to us. In 1812 James K. Paulding wrote:

"At the time this story opens, Bull's family had got to be so numerous that his farm was hardly large enough to portion them all with; so he sent his youngest son, Jonathan, or as he was familiarly called *Brother Jonathan*, to settle some new lands which he had on the other side of the mill-pond. . . . In a little time Jonathan grew up to be very large of his age; and became a tall, stout, double-jointed, broad-footed cub of a fellow, awkward in his gait, and simple in his appearance; but shewing a lively, shrewd look, and having the promise of great

written in the beginning of the year 1806, was intended for representation on the stage; but was not presented to the managers until it was too late for that season;" and that "it is not now probable that the piece will ever have the honor to be played."

[1] This was found in a collection of Songs, Ballads, *etc.*, in three volumes, in the possession of the American Antiquarian Society. Again I am indebted to Mr. Barton for calling my attention to the volumes. The genesis of this collection is stated in a note written by Isaiah Thomas:

"Purchased from a Ballad Printer and Seller, in Boston, 1813. Bound up for Preservation — to shew what the articles of this kind are in vogue with the Vulgar at this time, 1814. . . . Presented to the Society by Isaiah Thomas.
Aug^{t} 1814."

Thomas does not say of whom he bought the collection; but as many of the ballads have the imprint of Nathaniel Coverly, Jr., Milk Street, Boston, it seems not unreasonable to conclude that he was the "Ballad Printer and Seller" referred to by Thomas. Our associate Mr. Worthington C. Ford informs me that such ballads are a desideratum in Americana.

strength when he should get his full growth. He was rather an odd looking chap, in truth, and had many queer ways; but every body that had seen John Bull, saw a great likeness between them, and swore he was John's own boy, and a true chip of the old block. Like the old Squire, he was apt to be blustering and saucy, but in the main was a peaceable sort of careless fellow, that would quarrel with nobody if you only let him alone. He used to dress in homespun trowsers with a huge bagging seat, which seemed to have nothing in it. This made people to say he had no *bottom;* but whoever said so lied, as they found to their cost, whenever they put Jonathan in a passion. He alway wore a short Linsey-woolsey coat, that did not above half cover his breech, and the sleeves of which were so short that his hand and wrist came out beyond them, looking like a shoulder of mutton. All which was in consequence of his growing so fast that he outgrew his clothes."[1]

In 1820 Sidney Smith remarked:

"David Porter, and Stephen Decatur, are very brave men; but they will prove an unspeakable misfortune to their country, if they inflame Jonathan into a love of naval glory, and inspire him with any other love of war than that which is founded upon a determination not to submit to serious insult and injury.

"We can inform Jonathan what are the inevitable consequences of being too fond of glory; — TAXES upon every article which enters into the mouth, or covers the back, or is placed under the foot — taxes upon every thing which it is pleasant to see, hear, feel, smell, or taste — taxes upon warmth, light, and locomotion — taxes on every thing on earth, and the waters under the earth."[2]

In 1822 Byron wrote this stanza:

Here crashed a sturdy oath of stout John Bull,
Who damned away his eyes as heretofore:
There Paddy brogued "By Jasus!" — "What's your wull?"
The temperate Scott exclaimed: the French ghost swore

[1] The Diverting History of John Bull and Brother Jonathan, New York, pp. 4–8. In a little piece written in 1821, in which "Jonathan" represents the North and "Mary" the South, James Madison gives us a slight variation:

"Jonathan Bull and Mary Bull, who were descendants of old John Bull, the head of the family, had inherited contiguous estates in large tracts of land. As they grew up and became well acquainted, a partiality was mutually felt, and advances on several occasions made towards a matrimonial connection" (Jonathan Bull and Mary Bull, 1856, p. 3).

[2] Edinburgh Review, xxxiii. 77.

In certain terms I shan't translate in full,
As the first coachman will; and 'midst the war,
The voice of Jonathan was heard to express,
"*Our* President is going to war, I guess."[1]

In 1825 Sir Walter Scott wrote to his son, then in Ireland, as follows:

"We are very desirious to have your Court news. The Viceroy[2] is a person so particularly well bred, that I think it must be comfortable to be near him sometimes. I hope the Marchioness gives satisfaction. I think she will bear her style bravely. But I do not suppose brother Jonathan would like so much so large a fortune passing out his continent to gild a Marchioness's coronet in Britain; I should rather think it would gall his republican pride."[3]

In 1832 William Dunlap, alluding to a work already quoted, said:

"Mr. Tyler, in his Contrast, and some later writers for the stage, seem to have thought that a Yankee character, a Jonathan, stamped the piece as American, forgetting that a clown is not the type of the nation he belongs to."[4]

In 1848 Lowell remarked:

"Yet, after all, thin, speculative Jonathan is more like the Englishman of two centuries ago than John Bull himself is. He has lost somewhat in solidity, has become fluent and adaptable, but more of the original groundwork of character remains. . . . John Bull has suffered the idea of the Invisible to be very much fattened out of him. Jonathan is conscious still that he lives in the world of the Unseen as well as of the Seen. To move John you must make your fulcrum of solid beef and pudding; an abstract idea will do for Jonathan."[5]

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[1] Vision of Judgment, Stanza lix. This, quoted in the Encyclopædic Dictionary, was apparently the only example of the term known to lexicographers until the publication of the Oxford English Dictionary. See *ante*, p. 105 *note* 2.

[2] The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland at that time was Marquis Wellesley. He married, 29 October, 1825, for his second wife, Marianne, widow of Robert Patterson, eldest daughter of Richard Caton of Baltimore, and granddaughter of Charles Carroll of Carrollton. An account of this marriage will be found in R. R. Pearce's Memoirs and Correspondence of Marquess Wellesley, 1846, iii. 387–390.

[3] Familiar Letters, 1894, ii. 382.

[4] History of the American Stage, p. 85.

[5] Poetical Works, 1891, ii. 35, 36.

In 1848 Thoreau observed:

"When we returned to the Mattawamkeag, the Houlton stage had already put up there; and a Province man was betraying his greenness to the Yankees by his questions. Why Province money won't pass here at par, when States' money is good at Fredericton,— though this, perhaps, was sensible enough. From what I saw then, it appears that the Province man was now the only real Jonathan, or raw country bumpkin, left so far behind by his enterprising neighbors that he didn't know enough to put a question to them. No people can long continue provincial in character who have the propensity for politics and whittling, and rapid traveling, which the Yankees have, and who are leaving the mother country behind in the variety of their notions and inventions."[1]

In 1849 Martin F. Tupper thus addressed us Americans:

There 's nothing foreign in your face
  Nor strange upon your tongue;
You come not of another race
  From baser lineage sprung:
No, brother! though away you ran,
  As truant boys will do,
Still true it is, young Jonathan,
  My fathers fathered you![2]

In 1855 some unknown person said:

"But we sons of Columbia, descendants of the Pilgrims, the true votaries of Liberty, will invoke no saint but St. Jonathan, and our children and our children's children to the latest generation, shall revere his name, resolving that henceforth and for ever St. Jonathan shall be the patron-saint of the universal Yankee nation — and the Fourth of July, St. Jonathan's Day."[3]

In 1865 Colonel James F. Rusling wrote:

"Brother Jonathan is dead. Born in another age, and of the day of small things, he has passed away. His name, even, bids fair to become a myth among the people. He expired with the sound of the first gun fired *from* South Carolina *against* Fort Sumter, and, in his stead, there stands the game-cock, W. T. Sherman. The old time beaver, the high collar and big cravat, the long-tailed coat, abbreviated breeches,

[1] Maine Woods, 1894, pp. 17, 18.
[2] In Littell's Living Age, xxii. 86/1.
[3] United States Review, iv. 106 (Democratic Review, xxxv).

cowhide boots, and 'cute individual 'from 'way deown East,'— all these have passed into history, and to-day the true Representative American is the Union Soldier. Yankee Doodle is decidedly looking up." [1]

In 1875 Sam Ward, referring to Lord Houghton, remarked:

"Had the British Government sent him here as plenipotentiary, with a salary of £24,000 per annum, to win the hearts of Jonathan Brothers, he could not do more than he has done, and is daily doing, to achieve that national purpose." [2]

It is thus seen that the expression under discussion, so far from having become a "by-word" among Washington's officers, soldiers, and fellow-countrymen, was one of extreme rarity until after 1800; and, in view of the facts, the heroics of Mr. Stuart are some what misplaced. But meagre as is the evidence adduced in this paper, it seems to indicate that the original term was simply Jonathan; that it arose during the Revolutionary war, when it was employed, as a mildly derisive epithet, by the Loyalists, and applied by them to those who espoused the American cause; that it was for some time avoided by the Americans themselves; that when, late in the eighteenth century, the Americans took it up, they used it to designate a country bumpkin; and that gradually it came into popular vogue, on both sides of the Atlantic, as an appellation of the American people. Hence, like so many other words and phrases, Brother Jonathan takes its place among the designations which have finally been accepted by the very people to whom they were originally applied in ridicule.

As already stated, however, the early history of the phrase is obscure, and any additional light that other investigators can throw on it will be welcome.

NOTE ON JONATHAN'S COFFEE HOUSE.

A point raised by Richard Frothingham requires explanation. Henry Laurens, then President of Congress, wrote Washington a letter, 20 November, 1778, in which he said:

"Virtue and patriotism were the motto of our banners, when we entered this contest. Where is virtue, where is patriotism now; when almost every man has turned his thoughts and attention to gain and pleasures, practising every artifice of change-

[1] United States Service Magazine, iv. 27.

[2] In Life, Letters, & Friendships of R. M. Milnes, 1891, ii. 323.

alley, or Jonathans; when men of abilities disgracefully neglect the important duties for which they were sent to Congress, tempted by the pitiful fees of practising attorneys" (Sparks's Correspondence of the American Revolution, ii. 236).[1]

Exactly when, and by whom,[2] coffee-houses were introduced into England, is not known; but certainly it was before 1660. W. Rumsey mentions "the new cophy-houses" in his Organon Salutis, published in 1657 (E. F. Robinson, Early History of Coffee Houses in England, 1893, p. 61); in the Mercurius Politicus of 23–30 September, 1658, that "Excellent and by all Physitians approved, *China* Drink, called by the *Chineans*, *Teha*, by other nations *Tay alias Tee*," is advertised to be "sold at the Sultaness-head, *a Cophee-house* in *Sweetings* Rents by the Royal Exchange, *London*" (*Ibid.* p. 126 *note*); and Pepys records in his Diary that he went "to the Coffee-House" on 9 January, 1659–60. John Aubrey, writing in 1680, said that "Jonathan Paynter, o^r^ [? opposite] to St. Michael's Church, was the first apprentice to the trade" (Lives of Eminent Men, 1813, ii. 244). This Jonathan Paynter may or may not have been the person who gave the name to Jonathan's Coffee-House, in Exchange Alley;[3] but be that as it may, Jonathan's Coffee-House was for a century famous as the particular resort of the stock-jobbers. Among the "most factious" coffee-houses mentioned by Thomas Dangerfield in 1679 was "*Jonathan's* Coffee-house, near the *Old Exchange*" (Particular Narrative of the late Popish Design To Charge those of the Presbyterian Party with a Pretended Conspiracy against His Majesties Person, and Government, p. 16). On April ninth, 1690, Dean Rowland Davies made an appointment to meet some friends the following day, and on the tenth —

"Very early all my companions came to my lodging, whence I went with them to Jonathan's coffee-house" (Journal, Camden Society, 1857, pp. 100, 101).

In February, 1699–1700, Ned Ward wrote:

"At last I went to *Jonathan's Coffee-house* by the *Change*, to enquire into the meaning of this strange Disorder: Where I saw a parcel of Men at one Table Consulting together, with as much Malice, Horror, Anger and Dispair in their Looks, as if a new Pestilence had Sprung up in their Families, and their Wives had run away with their Journey-Men to avoid the Infection. And at another Table, a parcel of Merry Hawk'd Look'd Blades, Laughing and Pointing at the rest, as if with abundance of Satisfaction,

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[1] Suspecting that the word "Jonathans," as given by Sparks, might be an error for "Jonathan's," I wrote to Washington to ask to have the passage copied from the original letter in the Department of State. To Mr. Andrew H. Allen, chief of the Bureau of Rolls and Library, I am indebted for the following transcript:

"Virtue & Patriotism were the Motto of our Banners when we entered this Contest, where is virtue, where is Patriotism now? when almost every Man has turned his thoughts & attention to gain & pleasures, practicing every artifice of Change Alley or Jonathan's — when Men of abilities" *etc.*

[2] There are no fewer than five or six claimants for the honor. See a note by Mr. Joseph Jacobs in his edition of the Familiar Letters of James Howell, p. 803; J. H. Burn, Descriptive Catalogue of the London Traders, Tavern, and Coffee House Tokens, 1853, pp. 83, 84; W. Boyne, Trade Tokens, edited by G. C. Williamson, 1889, i. 601, 666; E. F. Robinson, Early History of Coffee Houses in England, *passim*.

[3] As Jonathan's Coffee-House was in Exchange Alley, it could not have been opposite St. Michael's Church; but Aubrey may have meant near, not opposite, St. Michael's; or Jonathan's may have derived its name from some other person.

they Triumph'd over the others Affliction. At last upon a little Enquiry into the matter, I found the Honest Brother-hood of the *Stock-Jobbers*, were in a lamentable Confusion, and had divided themselves into two parts, *Fools* and *Knaves*" (The London Spy, For the Month of February, 1700, Vol. ii. Part iv. p. 15).

In 1714 John Macky wrote:

"The *Royal-Exchange* is the Resort of all the trading Part of this City, Foreign and Domestick, from half an Hour after One, till near Three in the Afternoon; but the better Sort generally meet in *Exchange-Alley* a little before, at three celebrated Coffee-houses, called *Garraway's*, *Robin's*, and *Jonathan's*. In the first, the People of Quality who have Business in the City, and the most considerable and wealthy Citizens frequent. In the second, the Foreign Banquiers, and often even Foreign Ministers. And in the third, the Buyers and Sellers of Stock" (Journey Through England, 1724, i. 168, 169).

Jonathan's was alluded to by Tom Brown in A Comical View of the Transactions That will happen in the Cities of London or Westminster, 1705, pp. 110, 115; by Addison and Steele, in the Tatler, 5–7 July, 1709, No. 38, and in the Spectator, 1 March, 1710–11, 28 October, 1712, 18 June, 1714, Nos. 1, 521, 556; by Mrs. Centlivre, in her Bold Stroke for a Wife, 1718, Acts iii. and iv.; by Defoe, in his Tour through England, 1722, ii. 174; by Smollett, in his Reproof, 1747; in the magazines and newspapers, and elsewhere. And, of course, it was Jonathan's Coffee-House to which Laurens referred in his letter to Washington. Laurens, born in Charleston, South Carolina, was in a counting-house there in his youth; later he was in London, then returned to South Carolina; in 1771 he retired from business and went to Europe, where he was shortly before the outbreak of the Revolution; and in 1774 he returned to Charleston. (The National Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Americans, iv., and Appletons' Cyclopædia of American Biography.) Both as a man of business and as a traveller, he must have been perfectly familiar with Jonathan's Coffee-House.

To suppose, as apparently Richard Frothingham supposed, that there could have been any connection between Jonathan's Coffee-House in London and the word Jonathan as applied to a country bumpkin in America in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, is manifestly unwarrantable. In 1872 Frothingham quoted part of Laurens's letter, and remarked in a note:

"Jonathan's was the name of a coffee-house in London, the great resort of speculators. It is referred to in the British periodicals. In the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for May, 1767, is the line: 'And all the tongues at Jonathan's lie quiet.' The British called the Americans Jonathan and Jonathans" (Rise of the Republic of the United States, p. 572).

Frothingham then went on to quote, but without specific references, three early extracts given in this paper, and said: "I have not met thus early the term 'Brother Jonathan.'" Exactly what notion Frothingham entertained is not clear; but his placing the allusions to Jonathan's Coffee-House and the examples of Jonathan in juxtaposition, seems to indicate that he thought there was some connection between the two. The conclusion of Frothingham's note is curious:

"Water-marks on paper used in 1780 by Washington has [*sic*] a figure that may

represent Jonathan as a Yankee in an enclosure, holding a staff with the figure of a hat on the end, over the British lion, moving out of the enclosure. It had on it 'Pro Patria.'"

Some of these quotations and references are from my own notes, while others have been obtained from Robinson's book, from Wheatley and Cunningham's London Past and Present, and similar sources.

Mr. ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS stated that he had listened with pleasure to the curious and interesting story of the growth of the original anecdote upon which was based the theory that the national sobriquet Brother Jonathan was, after all, an eponym, relating back to Governor Trumbull and having its form founded upon the cordial relations which existed between him and General Washington. With this story, the speaker acknowledged that he was not familiar, but passing by some of the later forms into which successive narrators had magnified it, he was disposed to think that there was much more chance for the original anecdote to be true than might be inferred from the satirical sentences in the paper, as he recalled them, in which Mr. Matthews had served up the magniloquence of these writers in their accounts of the services of Connecticut in the Revolutionary War and in their references to the cordial relations existing between General Washington and Governor Trumbull. Continuing, Mr. Davis said:

It must be remembered that the State of Connecticut was so situated that it was able to render services to the patriotic side in the Revolutionary War, entirely disproportionate to its size or its population. The Government was converted from a Royal Colony to an independent State without a change in its organic form, without a ripple of disturbance, and with but slight alterations requisite even in the blanks used by the officials whose tenure of office remained undisturbed under the new order of things. The Colony had always been practically independent of Great Britain, and at the time of the outbreak there was probably not a single official of that power within the borders of

the State, except perhaps a customs officer at New London. Connecticut and Rhode Island had escaped the upheaval which had necessarily accompanied the transformation into States of the Provinces which were under the rule of an appointed Royal Governor. No part of the energy of the patriots was wasted in combating Royal officials or Tory citizens. Connecticut, then, had a Governor who not only sympathized with the movement to overthrow parliamentary supremacy, but who was fully prepared, if worst came to worst, to submit the decision to the arbitrament of arms. The militia of the Colony had been thoroughly organized. The Governor continued, as long as possible, to work for peace, but prepared for war. When, therefore, there was a call for troops to aid in the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, Connecticut was ready to assist in that movement. Her contributory action at this time ought not to be forgotten in estimating the moral influence of the downfall of these fortresses and the capture of guns and ammunition at a time when they were so much needed at Boston.

The State was then prosperous and was so situated, geographically, as to be relieved from the suffering and misery consequent upon the movement of large bodies of troops within its borders. Except for the depredations committed by an occasional raid, operating by way of the Sound, it was exempt from contact, except upon the western border, with actual warfare. The industry of the people was mainly devoted to agricultural pursuits and the farms were well equipped with horses, cattle, and stores for the maintenance of man and beast. This agricultural wealth was of the utmost value to Washington. As the war progressed, the regions occupied by the hostile forces were stripped of their supplies and the Americans became dependent upon the territory which was exempt from disturbance for food for the men under arms and for horses with which to transport supplies and ammunition. At the outset, Connecticut was in particularly good condition to respond to calls upon her for contribution of this kind, and, as events progressed, her exemption from invasion left her relatively in better condition than her neighbors. The supplies in Eastern Massachusetts had been consumed during the Siege of Boston. After the battle of Long Island, the banks of the Hudson were swept clean of supplies by the raiders of both

sides, the British on their part often reaching eastward as far as Greenwich, Connecticut, but seldom beyond that point. The American troops operating in that vicinity, being cut off from the sea, were absolutely dependent for their food upon the supplies which they could procure from the interior. Connecticut was one of the reservoirs from which they drew. During the attempt to dislodge the British from Newport, all southeastern Massachusetts and all of Rhode Island were denuded of supplies. This region had not recovered from the exhaustion consequent thereupon when Rochambeau arrived. The French were compelled to turn to Connecticut for food, and the Americans themselves, not only the army, but even the citizens of some of the towns of Rhode Island and Massachusetts, were also dependent for the means of existence upon what they could procure from the same source.

The fact that Connecticut was not the scene of any great military operations during this war has a distinct tendency to make us undervalue her contributions to the cause of Independence, but we may be sure that this was not done by Washington. He fully appreciated the situation, and the fact that he had early established friendly relations with the Governor who held office at this important point is shown by the presence of one of Trumbull's sons on his personal staff. Moreover, if I am not mistaken, the first two instances of the use of the sobriquet cited by Mr. Matthews were both from Connecticut sources.

Mr. MATTHEWS replied that the second was, and that the third appeared to relate to Wyoming, Pennsylvania.

Mr. DAVIS rejoined:

True, but that region was then claimed to be a part of Connecticut. It had been organized as a Connecticut County, was settled by Connecticut emigrants, and although claimed of course by Pennsylvania, this claim had not then been fully established.

Mr. MATTHEWS said:

MR. PRESIDENT, — May I be permitted to make a disclaimer? The "satirical sentences" in my paper were in every instance directed, not against individuals, but against the method pursued

by the commentators. Mr. Stuart has given us a precise account of the origin and spread of the term Brother Jonathan; he has made statement after statement, unsupported by a particle of proof; and he and other commentators have made material additions to the original story. Yet nowhere do we meet with that story until 1846. This method is unscientific, the results reached by it are unprofitable, and it lays itself open to criticism; but nothing was farther from my intention than to utter a word which could be interpreted as a reflection upon Connecticut, or upon Trumbull, or upon the cordial relations which existed between Trumbull and Washington.[1]

Dr. FRANKLIN CARTER also participated in the discussion of the paper.

[1] To Mr. Jonathan Trumbull, Librarian of the Otis Library, Norwich, Conn., I am indebted for calling my attention to an extract which has been printed since the foregoing paper was written. Under date of 21 March, 1776, Ezra Stiles wrote from Dighton, Mass., as follows:

"I saw several Gentlemen who came out of Boston last Eveng. . . . They [the British] left Bunker Hill last Ldsday Morning 17th at Eight o'Clock, leaving Images of Hay dressed like Sentries standing, with a Label on the Breast of one, inscribed 'Welcome Brother Jonathan'" (Literary Diary, 1901, ii. 2).

This example is earlier by two years than any hitherto known to me, and of course makes necessary a modification of the statement made on page 105 that "it is not until well into the Revolutionary war that we find any trace of the term under discussion, and then it appears in a slightly different form," and also of the statement made on page 119 that the evidence "seems to indicate that the original term was simply Jonathan." But while the new example is interesting, it does not appear to affect the conclusions expressed in this paper. Our associate Prof. Franklin B. Dexter, who edits the above work, makes this comment upon the passage:

"The use of this phrase at this date by the British seems to prove that the common explanation of its origin (with reference to Washington's consultations with Gov. Jonathan Trumbull) cannot be the correct one" (ii. 2 *note*).

In a work also published since this paper was written, Mr. John F. Weir, Director of the Yale School of the Fine Arts, says:

"Washington in his difficulties and perplexities at a critical period of the war, when seeking reinforcements, referred in a letter to Governor Trumbull as 'Brother Jonathan,' thus originating a term since humorously employed in personifying the nation" (John Trumbull and his Works, 1901, p. 4).

Neither Mr. Jonathan Trumbull of Norwich, who is a lineal descendant of Governor Trumbull, nor Mr. J. Henry Lea, who is related to the Trumbull family, has any knowledge of this alleged letter by Washington, to which there have been so many allusions during the past half century.

Mr. HENRY H. EDES called attention to the fact that this day marked an epoch in the history of Harvard University, since President Eliot had to-day exceeded, in the length of his service in the executive chair, the exceptionally long administration of President Holyoke, which covered a period of thirty-one years, eight months, and four days.

President KITTREDGE mentioned the curious book-plate of President Holyoke, specimens of which are preserved in Gore Hall. It is without device, — a plain slip of paper bearing the words —

EDVARDI HOLIOKÆI

LIBER.

Mr. EDES stated that he had in his possession a handsome chair, in a fine state of preservation, which once belonged to President Holyoke.

FEBRUARY MEETING, 1901.

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at No. 25 Beacon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 28 February, 1901, at three o'clock in the afternoon, President KITTREDGE in the chair.

The Records of the Stated Meeting in January were read and approved.

Mr. WORTHINGTON C. FORD communicated an unpublished Diary of Washington, kept at Mt. Vernon from the twenty-seventh of September, 1785, till the end of that year, and eleven letters of Washington, written the same year, which illustrate or explain entries in the Diary. In some brief remarks, Mr. Ford called attention to the most interesting matters contained in these documents, among them the popular clamor against the Cincinnati, and the arrival of Houdon for the purpose of making a bust of Washington. The Diary affords an interesting glimpse of Washington as the country gentleman, interested in agricultural pursuits, riding to hounds, attending fox hunts — his especial pleasure — and the races, and dispensing a generous hospitality not only to his kinsfolk, his neighbors and his former comrades-in-arms but also to titled foreigners and others from abroad. It also makes clear Washington's minute attention to small matters of domestic concern.

DIARY OF GEORGE WASHINGTON.

27 SEPTEMBER – 31 DECEMBER, 1785.

SEPTEMBER — 1785.

Tuesday, 27th.

Thermometer at 57 in the Morn'g. — 59 at noon — and 62 at Night. Wind fresh from the N° West with flying clouds, and cold.

Doct.r [James] Craik who came here last Night, returned this Morning to Maryland.

Wednesday, 28th.

Thermometer at 58 in the Morn'g. — 60 at Noon and 62 at Night. Morning lowering, with appearances of rain, but evening clear, wind still to the N°ward.

Doct.r [Walter] Jenifer and his wife came here to Dinner and went away after it, to Col.° M.cCarty's.

Mr. Taylor having finished the business which brought him here, I sent him up to Alexandria to take a passage in the Stage, for New York.[1]

[1] Congress was about to bring before the British Government the losses of property by citizens of the States at the time of the evacuation of New York. A number of negro slaves and servants had been sent or allowed to go to Nova Scotia and other places, a loss which concerned more particularly the Southern States. Washington held the papers and correspondence which passed between him and the British commander in chief, the "good" Sir Guy Carleton, and it was to obtain copies of the more important that Mr. Taylor, a clerk in the office of Foreign Affairs, had been sent to Mount Vernon. Washington wrote to Jay on September 27th: —

"Mr. Taylor presented me the honor of your favor of the 25th ultimo, and gave me the pleasure of hearing that Mrs. Jay, yourself, and family were well when he left New York. Upon your safe return to your native country, after a long absence and the important services you have rendered it in many interesting negotiations, I very sincerely congratulate you and your lady. It gave me great pleasure to hear of your late appointment as secretary of the United States for the department of foreign affairs. A happier choice, in my opinion, could not have been made; and I shall always rejoice at any circumstances, that will contribute either to your honor, interest, or convenience.

"Having completed his mission, Mr. Taylor returns to you with the proceedings and report of the commissioners, who were sent into New York to inspect the embarkation,

Thursday, 29th.

Thermometer at 60 in the Morning — 65 at noon — and 66 at night. Day clear, and not much wind, especially in the Afternoon.

Mr. Sanders, an undertaker in Alexandria, came down between breakfast & Dinner to advise a proper mode of shingling, putting Copper in the Gutters between the Pediments & Dormants, and the Roof and to conduct the water along the Eves to Spouts, & promised to be down again on Tuesday next to see the work properly begun: —

Friday, 30th.

Thermometer at 60 in the Morn'g. — 68 at noon — and 70 at night. Day clear, wind pretty brisk from the Southward — till the evening when it veered more to the Eastward.

Mr. Hunter, and the right Honble Fred: von Walder, Captn in the Swedish Navy — introduced by Mr Richd Sódarstrom [1] came here to Dinner and returned to Alexandria Afterwards, — in the evening a Mr Tarte, introduced by a letter from Mr Lowry of Black river came in to request my sentiments respecting some entry's they, in Partnership, had made in the Great Dismal Swamp, which I gave unreservedly, that they had no right to.

One of the Howard Bitches Wch was sent to me from France [2] brought forth 15 puppies this day; 7 of which (the rest being as many as I thought she could rear) I had drowned.

Run round the ground which I designed for the Paddock for Deer & find it contains, 18a 3r 20P. Began again to smooth the Face of the Lawn, or Bolling Green on the West front of My House — what I had done before the Rains proving abortive.

OCTOBER.

Saturday, first.

Thermometer at 66 in the morning — 70 at noon — and 72 at night. Southerly wind and clear.

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which, by the by, was little more than a farce, as they inspected no more property than the British chose they should be witness to the embarkation of. It will always give me pleasure to hear from you. Mrs. Washington joins me in most respectful compliments, and best wishes for yourself and Mrs. Jay, and I am, dear Sir, yours, &c."

[1] Swedish consul at Boston.

[2] A gift from Lafayette.

Began to raise a scaffold for shingling the Front side of my House, next the Court Yard. Rid to my River, Muddy hole, and Dogue run Plantations.

Doct[r] [David] Stuart[1] came in whilst we were at Dinner & stayed all night.[2]

Sunday, 2[d].

Thermometer at 70 in the Morning — 76 at noon — and at night. Weather warm — forenoon clear, afternoon lowering.

Went with Fanny Bassett, Burwell Bassett, Doct[r] [David] Stuart, G[eorge] A[ugustine] Washington, M[r] [William] Shaw[3] & Nelly Custis to Pohick Church; to hear a M[r] Thompson preach, who returned home with us to Dinner where I found the Rev[d] M[r] Jones,[4] formerly a Chaplain in one of the Pennsylvania Regiments.

After we were in Bed (about eleven o'clock in the evening) M[r] Houdon, sent from Paris by Doct[r] Franklin and Mr. Jefferson to take my Bust, in behalf of the State of Virginia, with three young men assistants, introduced by a M[r] Perin a French Gentleman of Alexandria, arrived here by water from the latter place.[5]

[1] Stuart had married Eleanor Calvert, the widow of John Parke Custis.

[2] See letter to Jonathan Trumbull, p. 183, *post*.

[3] William Shaw who served as Washington's secretary from 26 July, 1785, to the arrival of Tobias Lear in May, 1786.

[4] Probably Rev. David Jones, who was appointed, 27 April, 1776, chaplain of the Fourth Pennsylvania Battalion (Colonel Anthony Wayne's). On 1 January, 1783, he was transferred to the Third Pennsylvania, served as chaplain of the Northern army under Wayne in 1794, and was chaplain in the war of 1812. He died 5 February, 1820, aged 84.

[5] Houdon had come to the United States in the vessel with Dr. Franklin, reaching Philadelphia on the fourteenth of September. Franklin wrote to Washington on the twentieth of September: —

"He is here, but the materials and instruments he sent down the Seine from Paris not being arrived at Havre when we sailed, he was obliged to leave them, and is now busied in supplying himself here."

Washington, in acknowledging Franklin's letter, wrote on the twenty-sixth: —

"When it suits M. Houdon to come hither, I will accommodate him in the best manner I am able, and shall endeavor to render his stay as agreeable as I can."

On the same day he wrote to Houdon: —

"By a letter, which I have lately had the honor to receive from Dr. Franklin at Philadelphia, I am informed of your arrival at that place. Many letters from very

Monday, 3d.

Thermometer at 70 in the Morning — 68 at noon — and 66 at night, Wind at S° West, weather variable until noon when it became more cloudy & dripping towards evening it began to Rain and the night was wet.

The two Reverend Gentlemen who dined and lodged here, went away after breakfast.[1]

Tuesday, 4th.

Thermometer at 63 in the Morning — 62 at noon. — and 66 at night. Wind at S° West, veering more Westerly. Morning, wet, and till noon dripping clear afterwards, and wind fresh.

Wednesday, 5.

Thermometer at 60 in the morn'g. — at noon — and 68 at night. Brisk wind from the Southward all day. Weather clear.

Stripped the Shingles of the South Side of the Pediment of the West front of the House, in expectation of Mr. Sanders's coming to direct the shingling of it, but he never appeared.

Col° Ramsay introducing a M^r^ M^c^Comb, & a M^r^ Lowry; dined here and went away afterwards. Mr. Perin went from this after Breakfast.

Thursday, 6th.

Thermometer at 65 in the morning — 65 at noon — and 66 at night. Flying Clouds and a Rainbow, in the Morning with but little Wind; drippings of rain, more or less all day.

M^r^ Burwell Bassett, and M^r^ [William] Shaw set out after Breakfast for Dumfries.

The appearance of the day and the impracticability of giving on acc^t^ of the clammyness of the Earth an even face to any more

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respectable characters in France, as well as the Doctor's, inform me of the occasion; for which, though the cause is not of my seeking, I feel the most agreeable and grateful sensations. I wish the object of your mission had been more worthy of the masterly genius of the first statuary in Europe; for thus you are represented to me.

"It will give me pleasure, Sir, to welcome you to this seat of my retirement; and whatever I have, or can procure, that is necessary to your purposes, or convenient and agreeable to your wishes, you must freely command, as inclination to oblige you will be among the last things in which I shall be found deficient, either on your arrival or during your stay. With sentiments of esteem, I am, Sir, &c."

[1] See letter to John Page, p. 184, *post*.

of my lawn, until the grd, should get dryer of which there is no immediate prospect, I sowed what was levelled & smoothed of it, with English grass seeds; — and as soon as the top was so dry, as not to stick to the Roller, I rolled and cross rolled it; — first with a light wooden roller, and then with a heavy wooden roller, with a view of compressing the ground — smoothing the Surface of it, & to bury the seeds.

Mr Sanders not coming according to expectation I began with my own people to shingle that part of the Roof of the House wch was stripped yesterday, & to copper the Gutters, &c.

Friday, 7th.

Thermometer at 62 in the morning — 64 at noon — and — at night Wind Southwardly all day, and weather clear, warm & pleasant.

Sat today, as I had done yesterday, for Mr Houdon to form my bust.

Mrs Jenifer, wife of Doctr Walter Jenifer, dined here and returned afterwards; and Doctr [James] Craik came here in the afternoon, and stayed all night.

Mr [William] Shaw and Mr Bassett returned from Dumfries about noon. — & Doctr Brown came in the afternoon to visit a sick servant of the Mr Bassetts, & returned.

Finished trenching my Lawn the spading of which had recd several interruptions by odd Jobs intervening. the ground getting a little drier I began again to level & smooth it. Plowed up a Cow pen in order to sow the ground with orchard grass seeds.

Saturday, 8th.

Thermometer at 63 in the Morning — 66 at Noon. — and 68 at night. But little wind — weather clear and exceedingly pleasant.

Sowed the ground which was plowed yesterday, and which might amount to about a quarter of an acre, with near half a Bushel of the Orchard grass seeds, which was neither very clean nor I fear not very good. Also sowed with English grass seeds, as much more of the Lawn as I could get levelled & smoothed and rolled it in the same manner as that on Thursday last was done.

Sunday, 9th.

Thermometer at 64 in the Morn'g. — 70 at noon — and 70 at night. Morning and Evening lowering. Midday tolerably clear, warm & pleasant.

Accompanied by Mr Houdon and the two Mr. Bassetts attended the Funeral of Mr Manley at the Plantation of Mr Willm Triplett and returned to Dinner.

Monday, 10th.

Thermometer at 68 in the morn'g. — 70 at noon — and 74 at night. Thunder about day. Morning threatening, but clear & pleasant afterwards.

A Mr Jno Lowe, on his way to Bishop Seabury for ordination called and dined here. Could not give him more than a general certificate founded on information, respecting his character; — having no acquaintance with him; nor any desire to open a correspondence with the *new* ordained Bishop.

Observed the process for preparing the Plaister of Paris & mixing of it, according to Mr Houdon. The oven being made hotter than it is usually heated for Bread. The Plaister which had been previously broken into lumps — that which was hard, to about the size of a pullets egg; and that which was soft, and could be broken with the hands larger; was put in about Noon, and remained until night; where, upon examination, it was further continued until the morning without any removal of the heat in the oven, which was close stopped. Having been sufficiently calcined by this operation, it was pulverized (in an iron Mortar) & sifted for use through a fine lawn sieve, & kept from wet. When used, it is put into a Bason, or other vessel with water sifted through the fingers, 'till the water is made as thick as Loblolly — or very thick cream. as soon as the plaister is thus put into the water, it is beat with an Iron spoon (almost flat) until it is well mixed, and must be immediately applied to the purpose for which it is intended, with a Brush or whatever else best answers, as it begins to turn hard in, four or five minutes, and in seven or ten cannot be used, & is fit for no purpose afterwards, as it will not bear wetting a second time. for this reason no more must be mixed at a time than can be used within the space just mentioned. The brush

(common painters) must be put into water as soon as it is used, and the plaister well squeezed out, or this also becomes very hard. in this case to clear it, it must be beaten till the plaister is reduced to a powder, & then washed.

Tuesday, 11th.

Thermometer at 68 in the Morning — 70 at Noon — and 71 at night. A very heavy fog until near 10 O clock, with very little wind from the eastward. from thence till five P. M. it was tolerably clear; when it clouded again, & looked like rain.

Sowed more English grass seed on all the ground that had been levelled, & smoothed on the Lawn.

Began the foundation of the House at the Southwest corner of the South Garden.

Mr Dulany, Mr Sanderson and Mr Potts dined here and returned afterwards to Alexandria.

After dark it began to rain and continued to do so fast more or less, all night — which appeared to have washed all the seeds (at least all the Chaff with its contents) which had been just sowed from the ground, and carried it to the lowest parts of it.

Wednesday, 12th.

Thermometer at 66 in the Morning — 64 at noon — and 62 at night.

The Rain which fell last night had made the ground so wet that I could neither level, or in any manner work it. I was obliged therefore to employ the labourers thereon in other Jobs.

Mr. Livingston (son of Peter Vonbrugh Livingston of New York) came to Dinner & stayed all night. and in the evening Mr [James] Madison arrived.

Wind at No Et and thick weather all day; and fine rain with intervals.

Thursday, 13th.

Thermometer at 62 in the Morning — 62 at Noon — and 62 at Night. Wind at No Et all day and raining more or less, sometimes hard.

Mr Livingston, notwithstanding the Rain, returned to Alexandria after dinner A Suspension of all out doors work.

Friday, 14th.

Thermometer at 62 in the Morning — 65 at noon — and 66 at night. Lowering most of the day, but no wind.

Mr. Madison went away after Breakfast, My Chariot which went up for, brought down Miss Sally Ramsay & Miss Kitty Washington, to be Bridesmaid to-morrow at the wedding of Miss [Frances] Bassett.

Mr George [Augustine] Washington & Mr Burwell Bassett, went to the Clerk's office & thence to Colo Mason's for a license & returned to Dinner, having accomplished their business.

The ground being too wet, I employed the labourers who had been leveling the Lawn in cleaning & weeding the Shrubberies.

Saturday, 15th.

Thermometer at 66 in the Morn'g. — 68 at noon — and 68 at night. A Heavy lowering Morning with the wind at South — clear afternoon and fine evening.

The Reverend Mr. Grayson, and Doctr Griffith, Lund Washington, his wife, & Miss Stuart came to Dinner, all of whom, remained the evening excepte L. W. After the candles were lighted George Aug. Washington and Frances Bassett were married by Mr. Grayson.

The ground continuing too wet to level, the labourers worked in the Shrubberies. Put two thousand of the Common Chestnuts into a box with dry Sand, a layer of each — & two hundred of the Spanish Chestnuts in like manner to plant out in the Spring. These were put into Sand in a day or two after they were taken from the trees.

Sunday, 16th.

Thermometer at 66 in the Morn'g. — 68 at noon — and 72 at night. Morning thick and lowering, with appearances of rain which vanished about noon, after which it was clear and very pleasant — wind continuing at South.

Mr. Grayson went away very early in the morning, & Mr. Griffith, Mr Lund Washington and Miss Stuart after Dinner.

Monday, 17th.

Thermometer at 68 in the Morning — at Noon — and — at Night. Foggy and lowering Morning with but little wind — clear afterwards, and wind at N° West & Cool.

Set out to meet the Directors of the Potomack Navigation[1] at George Town. Where having all assembled, we proceeded towards the Great Falls, and dispersing for the convenience of obtaining quarters, Gov^r [Thomas] Johnson and I went to M^r Bryan Fairfax. Gov^r [Thomas S.] Lee, Col° [John] Fitzgerald, Mr. Potts the Secretary, Mr. Rumsay[2] the Manager, & M^r Stuart the assistant, went to a M^r Wheelers near the G^t Falls. Col° [George] Gilpin — I should have said before had proceeded on to prepare the way for levelling &c^r. at that place, in the Morning.

Tuesday, 18th.

Thermometer at — in the Morning — at noon — and — at night.

After an early breakfast at M^r Fairfax's, Gov^r [Thomas] Johnson & I set out for the Falls (accompanied by Mr. Fairfax) where we met the other Directors and Col° [George] Gilpin in the operation of levelling the ground for the proposed cut or canal from the place where it is proposed to take the water out to the other where it will be let into the river again. In the highest of which, and for near 70 rod, it is between five & seven feet higher than the surface of the water at the head. After which it descends, & for at least 300 yards, at the lower end rapidly — this cut upon the whole, does not appear to be attended with more difficulty than was apprehended, for tho' the ground is higher than was expected, it appears from some experiments of sticking a spiked stake down in those parts, that there is two or 3 feet of soft earth at Top, & the lower end of the canal well calculated to receive locks to Advantage; as also to dam the water to throw it back into the canal & thereby reduce the digging w^ch may also be done at the head by loose stones being thrown into the River to a Rocky Island. The length of the cut from the work of today, is found to be about 2400 yards, a little more or less upon exact measure west.

[1] See letter to Richard Henry Lee, p. 181, *post*.

[2] James Rumsey.

Took a view of the River from the Spout, or Cateract to the proposed entrance of the canal below, to see if I could discover (as some supposed there was) the advantage of a canal on the Maryland side in preference to one on this, — but saw no likely appearances of it. About 400 y^{ds} below the Cateract, there is a cove into which emptys a small part of the river, tho' deep & steep rocks on both sides which is a good defence to it, and some little distance below this again, is another cove but how a canal was to be brought thither I could not (having the river between) discover — however at and below both — is rapid water, one little, if any inferior to the Spout at Shanondoah. Having taken a rough level of the proposed cut, — formed general ideas for the Canal, determined to go on with it this winter, as soon as our operations on the water on acc^{t} of the season must cease & come to some resolutions respecting the hire^{s} of negros, we broke up after dark & I returned to M^{r} Fairfax's.

Wednesday, 19th.

Thermometer at — in the Morn^{g}. at noon — and — at night. Wind which had been at N^{o} W^{t} yesterday, & clear — had now shifted to the S^{o} E^{t} and lowered till night, when it began to rain, which it did more or less through the night, the wind blowing fresh.

Immediately after breakfast I sat out for my return home at which I arrived a little after noon. and found my Brother Jn^{o} his Wife,[1] Daughter Milly,[2] & Sons Bushrod [3] & Corbin,[4] & the wife of the first. M^{r} Will^{m} Washington [5] & his wife & 4 children, & Col^{o} [Thomas] Blackburn, to whom was added in the evening M^{r} Will^{m} Craik.

M^{r} Houdon having finished the business which bro^{t} him hither, went up on Monday with his People, work, and impliments in My

[1] Hannah Bushrod, daughter of Colonel John Bushrod, of Westmoreland County.

[2] Mildred, who married Thomas Lee.

[3] Bushrod, married in 1783, Anne, daughter of Colonel Thomas Blackburn, of Prince William County. Died without issue.

[4] Corbin, married Hannah, daughter of Richard Henry Lee.

[5] Probably the son of Augustine, the half-brother of the General. William married, in 1780, Jane, daughter of John Augustine Washington.

Barge to Alexandria, to take a Passage in the stage for Philadelphia the next morning.

Sowed (after making good the vacancies of the former) about a pint of the Cape of Good Hope wheat sent me by Mr [Samuel] Powell of Philadelphia, in 14 rows alongside of the other in the enclosure behind the stables. Also, sowed about a table spoonful of the Buffaloe or Kentucke River sent me by Doctr [David] Stuart alongside of the Guinea grass at the foot of the above wheat & continuance of the rows thereof.

Thursday, 20th.

Thermometer at 67 in the Morn'g. 66 at noon — and 65 at night. Wind fresh at South east and weather threatening, with Showers of rain (some pretty heavy) through the day.

George [Augustine] Washington & his wife, Bushrod Washington his wife, Sister & Brother, the two Mr Bassetts,[1] Mr [William] Craik and Mr [William] Shaw notwithstanding the weather set out for the races at Alexandria, and were disappointed of seeing them, as they were put off they did not return.

Friday, 21st.

Thermometer at 57 in the morning — 55 at noon — and 53 at night. Flying Clouds and cold with appearances of snow, wind being at No. West.

My Brother, Mr Willm Washington and his wife went up with me to this days races at Alexandria — We dined at Colo. Ramsays & returned in the evening with the company who went from here the day before, except Mr Wm Washington the two Mr. Bassetts and Mr Shaw.

Saturday 22d.

Thermometer at 52 in the Morning — 52 at Noon — and 52 at night. Wind at No. West and fresh, & cold with appearances of unsettled weather.

Went up again today, with My Brother and the rest of the Gentlemen to the Race & dined at Mr Herberts. all returned except Mr Jno. Bassett who got hurt in the race field, & Mr Shaw. Mr. Willm Scott came here in the evening, from Alexandria.

[1] John and Burwell.

Sunday, 23d.

Thermometer at 50 in the Morn'g. 56 at Noon — and 59 at Night. Fine & pleasant all day with the wind at South. no frost as was expected.

My Brother, his wife, Daughter and son; Mr Willm Washington his wife & 4 Children; Mr Bushrod Washington & wife; and Mr [William] Scott all went away after Breakfast. Mr Jno Bassett & Mr Shaw came home in the forenoon, and Mr. Fitzhugh of Chatham, Genl [Alexander] Spotswood, Mr McCarty of Pope Creek, and a Colo Middleton of South Carolina came here to dinner, & went away afterwards.

Perceived the Orchard Grass seeds which I sowed on the 8th Instt. in the same inclosure of the Turnips, to be coming up thick and well.

Monday, 24th.

Thermometer at 56 in the Morning — 58 at noon — and 58 at night. Variable & squally — with a little rain — wind at South in the Morning and Westerly afterwards.

The two Mr Bassetts (Burwell and John) left this after breakfast to return home. In the Afternoon Doctr [James] Craik came in, and stayed all night.

I rid to my Plantations at the Ferry, Dogue run, and Muddy hole, found the orchard grass seeds which had been sowed at Dogue run come up very well — as — the Timothy also had — and that my cornfield now that the Fodder was taken off, looked miserably bad. the wheat on the other hand very good.

Tuesday, 25th.

Thermometer at 54 in the Morn'g. 58 at noon — and 56 at night. Forenoon clear and serene and pleasant; but the afternoon windy & cold, with flying clouds — wind about West.

Doctr [James] Craik went away before Breakfast — he intended to Alexa but was to call upon John Alton.

Rid to my Plantation in the neck — found my corn & Wheat there similar with those at the other plantations as described yesterday. Finding the seeds of the Honey locust had come nearly or quite to a state of maturity although the thick part of the pod still retained

its green colour I had them gathered lest when ripe they should be gathered by others, to eat.

Wednesday, 26th.

Thermometer at 50 in the Morn'g — 56 at noon — and 56 at Night. A large white frost this morning Wind brisk and cold from the N°West all the day, after 9 o'clock.

Took the cover off my dry well to see if I could not fix it better for the purpose of an Ice House, by arching the Top, and planking the sides.

Having received by the last Northern Mail advice of the arrival at Boston of one of the Jack Asses presented to me by His Catholic Majesty, I sent my overseer, John Fairfax, to conduct him, and his keeper, a Spaniard home safe, addressing him to Leiut^t^ Governor [Thomas] Cushing, from whom I received the information.

Sent to Morris (Overseer of My Dogue run Plantation) a Bushel of clover seed (reserving, six pounds to sow as fast as he could get the ground which is intended for the reception of it, in order. Yesterday I transplanted a carnation cherry tree, an apricot tree, which were within the Lawn before the door into the North Garden, little expecting that either will live, the first being 33 inches in circumference the latter 21 inches and a good deal decayed.

Finished the shingling on the West front of the House.

Thursday, 27th.

Thermometer at 50 in the Morn'g. 56 at noon — and 58 at night. A remarkably great white frost and the ground a little frozen Wind Southerly all day, after it rose in the morning, but not very fresh. forenoon clear — but the afternoon, especially toward the Suns setting a little hazy & lowering.

M^r^ Battaile Muse came here before dinner but would not stay to it. After finishing some business with me respecting my Tenants — and my agreeing to allow him Six p^r^ C^t^ for collecting my Rents, he went up to Alexandria. Purchased 1000 Bushels of Wheat of him, to be delivered as fast as he could have it bro^t^ down, at My Mill — for which I am to give six shillings in March next, or when he comes here in April.

Began to put up my Hogs at the different Plantations, to fatten for Porke.

Friday, 28th.

Thermometer at 54 in the Morning — 60 at Noon — and 62 at Night. Wind Southerly; clear and pleasant all day.

Finished levelling and Sowing the lawn in front of the H° intended for a Bolling Green as far as the Garden Houses. Also began to sow Clover seeds at Dogue Run Plantation.

Saturday, 29th.

Thermometer at 59 in the Morning 64 at noon — and 65 at night. Morning clear, calm, and very pleasant — about noon it began to lower a little, and continued to do so all the afternoon.

Rid to the Plantations at the Ferry and Dogue run — at the last of which finished sowing the Clover seed which I sent there the 26th. With this I mixed 9 Bushels of the pounded Plaister of Paris; and sowed the whole on about 4¼ acres of Ground (on the side of the run along the old mill race.) as near as I could judge from stepping it.

Sunk the inner well in the Dry well now fitting up for an ice house, about 8 feet untill I came to a pure sand.

Mrs. [David] Stuart & Child Naney, & Miss. Allan came here this evening.

Sunday, 30th.

Thermometer at 64 in the Morning — 63 at noon — and 60 at night. Thunder and lightning about day Break and Raining More or less all day, attended in the forenoon with very high wind from the Westward.

Mr. [William] Shaw went up to Alexandria after Breakfast, & stayed all night.

Monday, 31st.

Thermometer at 52 in the Morn'g 54 at noon — and 56 at Night. A raw and moist air, with a Westerly wind — & lowering Sun.

Mr. Shaw returned to Breakfast & Mrs. [David] Stuart, Miss. Allan &c° went away after it.

A Capt. [Richard] Fullerton came here to Dinner on business,

of the State Society of the Cincinnati of Pensylvania, for whom I signed 250 Diplomas as President. Went away after.

Sent half a Bushel of Clover Timothy seed to Morris — to sow at Doeg run Plantation.

NOVEMBER.

Tuesday, 1st.

Thermometer at 50 in the Morning — 56 at Noon — and 56 at night. A white frost. — and damp kind of a Morning, with but little wind. rather hazy all day & towards evening lowering.

Rid to my Plantations at Dogue run and Muddy hole — at the former preparing, & sowing Ground with Timothy seed.

Mrs Fendall, Mrs Lee & Miss Flora Lee, daughter of the former with Doctr Skinner came here to Dinner, and stayed all night.

A Mr Sacket from Tygers Valley on the monongahela, and another person came here before Dinner and showed me some propositions they had to make to Congress for a large territory of Country West of the Ohio, which I discouraged them from offering, as I was sure they never would be acceded to by that body.

Wednesday, 2d.

Thermometer at 58 in the Morn'g 58 at Noon — and — at night. A very thick, damp morning & heavy Fog until about 9 O'clock when it began to Rain; & continued to do so until noon, when it thinned and looked as if it would be fair, but soon recommenced raining, which lasted, until near Night.

Perceived the wheat from the Cape, which had been sent to me by Mr [Samuel] Powell of Philada & which I sowed on the 19th of last Month had come up very well. The Guinea Grass in my Botanical garden was as much injured by the frosts which we have had, and the colour of the blade as much changed, as those of Indian corn would have been from the same cause. Could perceive none of the Guinea Grass up which I sowed in the Inclosure behind Stable (old vine yard) on the 1st day of Sepr.

Thursday, 3d.

Thermometer at 54, in the Morning — 60 at Noon — and 58 at night. Morning clear, calm, and very pleasant; but the wind

springing up about 10 O Clock in the N^W^ West, & blowing pretty fresh. it turned cool towards evening.

Borrowed a scow from Col^o^ [George] Gilpin, with which to raise mud from the Bed of the river or Creek, to try the efficacy of it as a Manure, and sent it to the river Plantation for that purpose, went over there Myself to mark off a piece of ground to spread it on after it should get mellowed by frosts of y^e^ winter.

Mrs. Fendal, Mr^s^ & Miss [Flora] Lee & Doct^r^ Skinner went away breakfasting, first.

Took up 11. Pines of a large size & planted them in the green brier hedge & circle at the extremity of the Lawn within the Gate.

Friday, 4th

Thermometer at 52 in the Morn'^g^. at noon — and 60 at night. Lowering, and the wind very brisk from the S^o^ West in the Morning; but clear, calm warm, and very pleasant afterwards.

Raised the heavy frame in my House today — and planted 16 Pines in the avenues on my Serpentine Walks.

Rid to my Dogue run Plantation, where they were still preparing ground for, & sowing of Timothy seed — went from thence to M^r^ Lund Washingtons, on a visit to M^r^ Rob^t^ Washington who was gone up to Alexandria. Returned home by the way of Muddy hole.

In the evening a M^r^ Jn^o^ Fitch came in, to propose a draft & model of a Machine for promoting navigation, by means of a Steam.

Saturday, 5th.

Thermometer at 60 in the Morn'^g^. 64 at noon — and 65 at Night. Morning a little lowering with the wind pretty brisk from the Southward until about noon when it became calm & clear.

Went over the Creek to see how my people went on in raising mud from the bed of the Creek — their progress but slow.

M^r^ Robert Washington of Chotanck — M^r^ Lund Washington & Mr. Lawrence Washington dined here, as did Col^o^ [George] Gilpin and M^r^ Noah Webster — the 4 first went away afterwards · the last stayed all night — in the afternoon a M^r^ Lee came here to sollicit Charity for his Mother who represented herself as having nine Children, a bad husband, and no support. He also stayed the evening.

Sunday, 6th.

Thermometer at 64 in the morning — 68 at noon — and 68 at night. Clear, Calm, and remarkably pleasant all day — Sun set in Bank.

Mr Webster and Mr Lee went away after breakfast. Mr Geo. [Augustine] Washington & wife went to Church at Alexandria, as did Mr [William] Shaw — the two first, returned to dinner. the other not till some time in the night, after the family were in bed altho' it was omitted in the occurrences of Yesterday.

I tried 2 quarts of the pulverized plaister of Paris; one of them burned, the other unburnt, upon two sections of the circle in front of the House, from the Dial Post to the Center post opposite to the pavemt leading to the gate by the quarter. The section nearest the House was sprinkled with the burned Plaister These sections are only from one post to another in the circle, and do not contain more than about 145 square ft. A quart therefore on each is at the rate of 8 Bushels to the Acre. This was the poorest part of the circle.

Monday, 7th.

Thermometer at 66 in the Morn'g. 69 at noon — and 69 at night. Clear, calm, and remarkably pleasant all day, but rather too warm for the season.

Mrs [William?] Peake and Miss Eagland dined here and returned in the even'g.

Employed since I first began to supply the dead Trees in the Serpentine walks which I compleated this day except with the lime (or powder) and horse chestnut, neither of wch I have or could easily get at. The number represented are as follows — of Pine 19 — of Elm 2 of Poplar 18 — of the black Gum 17 — of the Aspan 2, — of the Mulberry 5 — Ash 2 — and of the Maple none.

Tuesday, 8th.

Thermometer at 60 in the Morning — 66 at noon — and 66 at night. A very heavy fog (with little or no wind) until near noon when it dispelled, became clear, warm & pleasant.

Rid to Dogue run & Muddy hole Plantations — the first pre-

paring ground, & sowing Timothy seed. Began to replace the dead Trees in my Shubberies.

Doct.r [James] Craik first, and a Capt. Lewis Littlepage afterwards came here to Dinner; the first went away after it — The other stayed all night. This Captn. Littlepage has been Aid de Camp to the Duke de Crillen — was at the sieges of Fort St. Phillip (or the Island of Minorca) and Gibralter, and is an extraordinary character.

In the Evening Doct.r Griffith came, & stayed all night.

Wednesday, 9th.

Thermometer at 64 in the morning — 66 at noon — and 66 at night. A red & watery sun in the morning, which about noon was obscured, slow rain afterwds. Wind Southerly, all day; and at night appeared to be getting to the Westward

Mr. Griffith went away after Breakfast, and Capt. Littlepage after Dinner.

Having put in the heavy frame into my Ice House I began this day to seal it with Boards, and to ram straw between these boards and the wall — all imaginable pains was taken to prevent the straw from getting wet or even damp but the moisture in the air is very unfavourable.

Thursday, 10th.

Thermometer at 59 in the Morning — at noon — and — at night.

There having fallen so much rain in the night as to convince me that the straw which I had placed between the Ceiling & the wall of My Ice House, must have got wet, and being in some doubt before of the propriety of the measure lest it should get damp, heat, & rot, I had it all taken out, leaving the space between unfilled with anything.

Went up to Alexandria to meet the Directors of the Potomack Company. Dined at Mr. Fendalls (who was from home) and returned in the evening with Mrs. Washington. Mr. George [Augustine] Washington & his wife — who accompanied us remaining to a Ball.

Planted 8 of the Hemlock Pine which were brought from Neabsco in my Shrubberies — more still wanting to make up the deficiencies.

Friday, 11th.

Thermometer at 56 in the Morn'g. 54 at noon — and 55 at night. Wind at N° E^t^ and fresh all day — very cloudy. and sometimes dripping. at Night it began to fall a little more seriously, but in no great q'^ty^.

Sent My carriage up for and brought George [Augustine] Washington & his wife down after dinner.

Saturday, 12.

Thermometer at 54 in the Morn'g. 58 at noon — and 60 at night. Wind a little West of the N° and pretty fresh all the forenoon, and Cloudy. Afterwards clear, still & very pleasant.

Received 215 apple trees (red strick) from Major Jenifer wh^h^ I sent to the river plantation in the neck, to be planted. At the same time and from the same place received two New Town — & 2 Golden Pippin Trees — two of the Bury, & two S^t^ Germain Pea[ch] Trees. and two duke Cherry Trees.

Rid to my Plantations at the Ferry — Dogue run and Muddy hole, at the second of which they were yet preparing ground, & sowing grass Seeds — at the last gathering corn.

Covered my exotic plants in that section of my Botanical Garden between the Salt House & the House next the circle, & began to cover the Guinea grass, which two days before I had cut of near the crown. but did not finish it.

Sunday, 13th.

Thermometer at 59 in the Morning — 65 at noon — 65 at night. Clear all day — Morning calm & very pleasant, but windy afterwards from the No. West.

M^r^ Sam^l^ Hanson and his wife, M^r^ Tho^s^ Hanson and their two Sisters, & M^rs^ Dulany wife to Walt^r^ Dulany, lately from England came to Dinner & stayed all night.

Monday, 14th.

Thermometer at 58 in the morning 64 at noon — and 62 at night Calm, clear & pleasant Morning Wind pretty brisk afterwards from the N° W^t^, but fine notwithstanding.

The company who came to dinr yesterday, & lodged here last night went away after breakfast — upon which I went to my neck Plantation in ye Neck with intention to take a descriptive list of My Horses, Cattle, Sheep, Working Tools &c: but the forenoon being far spent I could only do it of the Horses & Tools.

Began to plant the apple Trees which were brought from Major Jenifers on Saturday. Finished covering the Guinea grass in my Botanical garden except 6 Rows of it which I left uncovered, — and uncut — to try the effect of the Winters frosts & snows upon it.

In the Evening Mr Willm Craik returned from his trip over the Alligany Mountains having effected no business for his father or me, being disappointed of seeing those with whom he had it to transact.

Tuesday, 15.

Thermometer at 54 in the Morning — 56 at noon — and 60 at night. Wind southerly and pretty fresh — weather somewhat hazy and smoaky.

Went to my Neck Plantation and compleated the acct of My Stock there except that of the Hogs. Which stand thus.

Horses.

A grey dray Stallion			1
Buck, a sorrel	16 yrs old	Working Horses.	
Gilbert, a black	17. " do		
Randolph, a grey	7. " do.		
Doctr, a grey	7 " Do		
Prentice, a Bay	10 " Do		
Jolly, a Black	9 " Do.		
Dick, a White	12 " Do		
Grunt, a Bay	9 " Do.		
Pompey, a Bay	14 " Do.		
Diamond, White	9 " Do.		
Possum, Grey	10 " Do.		
Jack — Black	10 " Do		13

Kit a black mare	5	" Do	Work'g Mares.
Fly, Dark brown			
Patience			
Betty — White Stock^{ings}	9	" Do.	
Punch grey flea bitt^{n}			
Jenny light grey	9	" Do.	
Brown	11	" Do	
Fanny — Black	9	D^{o}.	
Overs^{r} — Black			9
A Brown Horse		5	Unbroke Hors
Bright Bay rising		3	
Black . . Do.		3	
Brown mealy co^{d} Do.		3	
Black . . . . Do.		3	
Black . . small Do.		3	
Ditto Do		2	
Iron Grey . . Do.		2	
Black bold Pan. "		2	9
A grey spring colt			1
Dark bay		9	Unbroke Mares
Sorrel		5	
Brown		6	
Black — rising		3	
Dark brown		3	
Grey		3	
Black rising		2	7
Black spring colt			1
In all			40

Cattle.

Bulls. y^{s}		3
Working Oxen		7
Fatting Steers in cornfield		5
Cows		41
Heifers . . . 6 y^{rs} old	6	
3 y^{rs} old	15	
2 y^{rs}. old	11	
1 y^{r} old	7	
Spring — cow — calves	19	58

Steers — full grown	18	
4 yrs. old . . .	2	
3 yrs. old . . .	4	
2 yrs. old . . .	7	
1 yr. old . . .	3	
Spring Bull calves	11	45
		159
Cows brot to the House for milk & to go back		— 8
Total Cattle		167.

Sheep.

Rams	7
Ewes	92
Weathers	12
Ditto in cornfield	16
	127
Weathers brot to Hs Hs	42
Total	169

Tools & Implts.

A Waggon Saddle and Gier for 4 Horses.		1
An Oxe Cart — good	1	
Ditto not good	1	2
Oxe Chains		2
Bolts for Tongues		2
Yokes, Rings &c		
Bar Shear Plows		9
Two pr Iron traces to each		18
Old bridles for ditto		18
N. B. These Traces serve the waggon		
Hitting Hoes helved	20	
Unhelved pretty gd	3	
indifferent	2	
At the Smiths shop	2	27

Mattocks but indiff^{t}	6	
Ditto said to have come to the Home H^{o}	7	13
Grubbing Hoes indiff^{t}		3
Axes	7	
Ditto at Smiths shop	1	
Ditto old Iron	1	9
Iron Wedges — pairs		3
Open iron wire sieve	1	
Sand Sieve	1	2
Note these to be sent to the Home H^{o}.		
Harvest Rakes — 5 only g^{d}		13
Pitch forks		1
Half Bushels — new	1	
Old — D^{o}	1	2
Plantation Gun		1

Wednesday, 16th.

Thermometer at 58 in the Morn'^{g}. 66 at noon — and — at night. A large circle round the moon last night. a red & angry looking sky at the Suns rising and a brisk Southerly Wind all day with rain in the evening and night.

Finished the arch over my Ice House today.

Went early in the morning to take an acc^{t} of my stocks &c^{a} at Dogue run & Muddy hole Plan^{t}

AT THE FIRST.

Horses.

		Height	age.	
Dabster	a grey	14¼	8	Workers
Buck	Bay	14	6	
				2
Nancy	Bay	14	old	Work'g Mares
From Camp	Ditto	14¼		
Fly	Ditto	13	8	
Brandy	Ditto	13½		
Fancy	Black	13	old	
Carried over		5		2

. . . brought over	5	Work'g Mares	2
. . . Sorrel	13. old 1		
. . . Ditto	13 " 1		
Bonny — Bay — very old	1		8
Engl^{h} Hunter Brown	15 old	Old m.	
Grey Mare bo^{t} at Bristol	D°.		
Dray — Black	Camp. D°.		3
Bay. likely in foal	14.6	Unbroke mares.	
Bay. Roan — white face . . .	14.5		
Sorrel	14½		
Black-snip on y^{r} nose	13.		
Iron grey — dark	14.3		
Black . . from Husten	2		
Black-star & snip likely	2		
Bay — White face	1		
Black — long star	1		
Bay near hind foot wh	1		
Bay small star	1		
Bay, (blood) near hind fw^{t}	1		
Bay. star & snip	1		13
A Grey . . snip . . 14 . .	3	Unbroke horses	
*Bay Roan . wh. face	1		
*Sorrel . . . snip	1		
*Dark Grey	1		
Grey Colt. fr^{m} Bus^{k} m.	sp^{g}		
* It is not certain whether these are horses or mares not having distinguished them on the spot at the time.			5
In all			31

Cattle.

Working Oxen	7
Fatting Steers in Meadow	2
Cows	15

Heifers	4 — yr old	5	
	3 yr old	3	
	2 yr old	6	
	1 yr old	2	
Spring Calves		6	22.
Steers — full grown		7	
	3 yr old	1	
	2 yr old	2	
	1 yr old	7	
Spring Calves		5	22
Bulls			1
Total			69.

Sheep.

Rams		7
Ewes		32
Weathers	7	
Ditto in meadow fats	7	14
Total		53

Old cows in ye. Meadr 2

N. B. The Tools, not being got up no accr was taken of them at this time.

MUDDY HOLE PLANTATION.

Horses.

		Height	Age.		
Jockey —	a black	13½	14		
Diamond	Ditto	14	10		2
Rankins —		14	10	Work'g Mares	
Fly	a Grey	14¼	8		
Jenny —	Brown	13¼	8		
Finwick Dan	Sorrel	13½	7		
Fancy —	Grey	13¼	9		5

White	13	7	Unbroke Mares	
Bay — small star &c^{s}	13	5		
Bay — long blaze	13	5		
Bay — very small star	13	5		
Dark. Bay sm^{l} Star &^{r} Sr.	13			
Dark Brown Simson	13½	3		
Bay . . midl^{g} likely		1		
Bay. small star spring				
Black, sm^{l} star — spring				9
Brown Bay, crook^{d} blaze 13 hands high 5 y^{rs} old			Unbroke Hor^{s}.	
Grey — unlikely		2		
Bay — sm^{l} star unlikely				
Grey natural pacan. sp^{t}				4
Total				20.

Cattle.

Working Oxen			4
Cows			10
Heifers . . . 1 y^{r} old			1
Cow Calves — this Spring			1
Steers, full grown	8		
2 years old	2		
1 year old	1		11
Male Calves			4
Total			31

Sheep.

Rams	5
Ewes	39
Lambs	11
Total	50

Tools & Impliments.

A good oxe Cart — 2 Oxe Yokes & Iron Rings — Compleat	1
Oxe Chain	1
Bar shear plows	8
Iron Traces . . . pairs	6
Haims, Collars, Bridles &c^{a} Comp^{r}	
2 spare Colters	2
Mattoxs	5
Axes, includ'^{g} 1 at the Home H^{o}	4
Iron Wedges — pairs	1
Hilling Hoes	11
Pitch fork	1
A Wheat Fan	1
Half Bushel	1
The Hogs at all the Plantations running in the Woods after the mast, no acct. could be taken of them.	

Richard Henry Lee, lately President of Congress ; his son Ludwell, Col^{o} [John] Fitzgerald, and a M^{r} Hunter (Merch^{t}) of Louden came here to Dinner & stayed all night.

The Stock at the Ferry not being got up Postponed taking the acc^{t} of them until they sho^{d} be got together.

Thursday, 17th.

Thermometer at 58 in the morning 60 at noon — and 62 at night.

Col^{o} Lee & all the company went away after Breakfast. M^{r} [William] Shaw went up to the assembly in the afternoon at Alexandria.

Morning a little foggy & thick but clear afterwards with the Wind at N^{o} West and Cool.

Friday, 18th.

Thermometer at 49 in the Morning — 54 at noon — and 50 at night. Morning clear & severe — a white Frost and ground froze — Ice an eighth of an Inch thick — Wind at No. W^{t} & pretty fresh until the after noon when it was almost calm.

Began to take up a number of small Pines to replace the dead ones in my wildernesses got them with much dirt about the Roots.

Took an account of the Horses, Cattle & Sheep at Home. viz.

Horses.

Magnolia — an Arabian					1
Nelson — Riding Horse			1		
Blue skin . . Ditto			1		2
Carried over					3
Brought over					3
	Height	age			
Partner — A Bay	15	12	For the Chariot		
Ajax — light Bay	15	11			
Chatham, dull Bay	15	8			
Valiant, Yellow Bay	14¾	16			
English . . Bay	15	very old			
M^{c}Intosh . . Bay	14½	9			
Careless. Bay	14½	5			
Young . . . Bay					8
Dragon . . Black	15.	6	Wagg^{n} Hors^{s}		
Jolly . . . Ditto	15.	14			
Chichester Bay	14½				
Jock — Grey	14½	5			4
Black — Mare Dray	15	old	Cart. H.		
Black. Horse Ditto	14	old			
Used in Tumblers					2
	H	y.			
A Brown Bay	14	6	Hacks.		
Chevalier — dull bay	14½				
Brown Bay, Muddy hole					
Columbus. br: D^{o}	14				4
Total					21.

Cattle.

Working Oxen	old . .	2	
Ditto — Dº	Young . .	2 .	4
Brought over			4
Cows. from Camp		4	
Rivr Plantn		8	
Dogue run Dº		6	
Ferry . Dº		3 .	21
Bull			1
In all			26.

Note. One of the cows that came from the River Plantn (making the above 9) got mired this Fall and died, and of the above, the 4 cows from Camp — two from the Ferry — three from Dogue run — and one from the neck are ordered to be detained here, and all the rest to be sent to their respective places.

Sheep.

Weathers	40	
Ewes. Sucking Lambs	4	
Lambs . . for killing	4 .	48.

Began to take up my summer Turnips at the House, got abt half up to day. Sent to Mr. [Dudley] Digges for Papaw Bushes to replace the dead ones in my Shrubberies. Coming late I had not time to plant them but put the Roots in the ground until tomorrow. Planted the two duke cherries — sent me by Major Jenifer in the two gardens — one under each wall, abt 30 feet from the Garden Houses — and planted the Bury & 2 St Germain Pairs also sent me by him in the Nº Garden, new part thereof one of each kind on the Circular walk and the other two on the strait walk. Put the Box with the Magnolia, & other exotics from Sº Carolina — and that with the Kentucke Coffee tree under a bush cover in the open part of the Green Hº — and began to cover the Palmetto Royal at the Front gate with Brush with the leaf on — but got a small part only south of the gate & South part thereof done before night.

Saturday, 19th.

Thermometer at 46 in the Morning — 54 at noon — and — at night. Wind at N° West and cold all day, with clouds which threatened snow in the evening. Ground very hard frozen.

Finished digging my Summer Turnips and putting them in a cellar. Also finished covering the Palmetto royal at the front gate, except a small piece on the South side, nearest the gate for which brush could not be got in time.

My Ice House Walls except the Pediment over the outer door and the inner walls of the arch were compleated this day likewise.

Doct^r [James] Craik whom I had sent for to visit York George (in the neck) who is much afflicted with the gravel came here about sundown and stayed all night.

Sunday, 20th.

Thermometer at 48 in the Morning 54 at noon — and 54 at night. Clear and calm all day, but the air keen notwithstanding.

George [Augustine] Washington & wife & M^r [William] Shaw went to Lund Washingtons to Dinner & returned in the afternoon. Col° [Robert Hanson] Harrison (Judge) came here to Dinner — and Doct^r [James] Craik (who went away early this Morning) at night.

My Nephew Law^e Washington came here with a letter to day from M^r Bailey respecting their Board, &c^a [1]

Monday, 21st.

Thermometer at 48 in the Morning. at noon — and — at N. Lowering Morning, with the wind at N° E^t — about half after ten A. M. it began to snow & continued to do so (of a wet kind) until night, when it ceased tho' the ground was not covered more than an Inch thick.

Col° [Robert Hanson] Harrison & Doct^r [James] Craik left this after Breakfast, and I went up to Alexandria with G. [Augustine] Washington to meet the Directors of the Potomack Com^a and to

[1] See letter to the Rev. Mr. Balch, p. 185, *post*.

a Turtle feast (the Turtle given by myself to the Gentlemen of Alex[a])

Returned in the evening and found the Count Doradour recommended by, & related to the Marq[s] de la Fayette here as also the Rev[d] Mr. [Walter] Magowan.

Tuesday, 22[d].

Thermometer at 40 in the Morning 46 at noon — and 52 at night. Clear and cold Wind at N° West all day — the snow except on the N[o] side of Hills & Houses had dissolved.

The Count Doradour and M[r] [Walter] Magowan went away after Breakfast. The Rev[d] M[r] Keith of Alexandria and a M[r] Bowie of Philadelphia came to Dinner and returned to Alexandria in the evening.

Gave my people their cloathing p[r] list taken.

Removing earth today as Yesterday, to cover my Ice H[o]

Wednesday, 23[d].

Thermometer at 48 in the Morn[g]. 54 at noon — and — at night. Clear, warm, and pleasant, with the wind at South.

Finished all the Brick work of My Ice House today.

Miss Kitty Washington, Gen[l] [Benjamin] Lincoln, Colonels Hooe & Lyles M[r] Porter, Capt[n] Goodwin, Doct[r] Swift, M[r] Potts, M[r] Dalby, M[r] Morshur, M[r] Williams, M[r] Philips & a M[r] Cramer or Cranmur, came here to Dinner, and all of them returned in the evening except Kitty Washington.

Sent Mr. [William] Shaw through Alexandria to agree for the schooling & Board of my nephews George and Lawrence Washington now at the Acadamy at George Town — & thence to the latter place to conduct them to the former for the purpose of going to School at the Alexandria Academy.

Thursday, 24th.

Thermometer at 48, in the Morn[g]. 56 at noon — and 55 at night Clear, warm & pleasant, wind being still Southerly.

Immediately after Breakfast rid to my Plantation at the Ferry & took the following acct. of my Stock. Viz.

Horses.

	hand^{s}	age		
Price a black Horse. . . .	14 .	20	W. H.	
Ditto — a Sorrel Do. . . .	14½ .	old	W. H.	2
Jenny, bla. Mare	14½ .	old	Working Mares	
Peggy — White D^{o}. . . .	14 .	10	Working Mares	
Fly — Dark grey Do. . .	13½ .	8	Working Mares	
Kitty, Small bay Do. . . .	13 .	15	Working Mares	
Bonny — Sorrel Do. . . .	14 .	10	Working Mares	
Nancy — black Do. . . .	sm^{l} .	12	Working Mares	6
A Black Mare. Steady . .	13½ .	4	unb. M.	
A Sorrel Ditto Leonidas Do. . . .		1	unb. M.	
A bay — D. very small . . .		Spring	unb. M.	
A bla. Horse unlikely		4	Un. H.	
A Small bay — Leonedas — likely .		1	Un. H.	
A black — bald face		Spi^{d} .		3
Total				14

Cattle.

	age		
Darling — a red & W. Ox	6		
Bembo, white & red ox	9		
Mark black & White Do.	11		
Duke red brindle — very old			4
Cows			14
Heifers . 4 years old	1		
3 y^{rs}.	2		
2 y^{rs}.	2		
calves this sp^{g}	5		10
Steers — full grown	2		
4 years old	2		
3 years old	5		
2 years old	3		
1 years old	1		
Spring calves	7		20

Bulls — 2 years old	1
Beeves in Corn field	2
Total	51

Sheep.

Rams	1
Ewes	9
Weathers	5
Total	15

Tools & Implements.

A good Cart —		
2 Yokes with Rings.		
A Cain		
Wheat Fans		1
Wire Riddles — coarse	4	
Sand Sieves	1	
Coarser size	1	6
Plows Bar Shears		4
Iron Traces — pairs		8
Haims, C'lars, Bridle &c. Compleat for them		
Weeding Hoes		1
Hilling — Ditto		13
Grubbing — Ditto		1
Mattock,		4
Axes		5
Iron Wedge — $1\frac{1}{2}$ pairs		

From the Ferry I went to the Plantation at Dogue run and took the following account of the Tools there — being omitted when I was there last: Viz: —

Oxe Carts	1	
At the Hº for repairs	1	2

Oxe Yokes with rings	4
Oxe Chains	2
Wheat Fans	1
Riddles — viz	
1 open & tolerable good	
1 Sand sieve & much worn	
Axes	9
Mattocks	6
Grubbing Hoes	6
Hilling, Ditto	16
Iron Wedges — pairs	4
Spades — good	1
Bar Shear Plows	4
Iron Traces	8
Haims, C'lars, Bridles &c^c Complete	3
Spare Colters	3
Adze,	1
Drawing knife	1
Hand Saws	1
Froes —	1
Broad Chissels	1
Narrow D^o	1
Guage	1
Auger — ¾ Inch	1

Recapitulation of all my Stocks of Horses, Cattle & Sheep.

Horses.

Stud Horse — Magnolia			1	
Ditto	Dray		1	2
Riding Horses				2
Chariot Horses				8
Hack Horses				4
Waggon Horses	Home H^o		4	
Cart Ditto	D^o D^o		1	5
Plow Ditto	Plant^n			18
Cart Mare	Home H^o	1		
Plow Ditto	Plan^n	28		29

Broke Ditto not worked			5	
Unbroke Dº ove. 4 yrs old			13	
Ditto	3 yrs		5	
Ditto	2 yrs		3	
Ditto	1		8	
Ditto.	Colts		3	—68.
Unbroke Horses 4 & upwds			3	
Ditto Ditto	3 yrs.		6	
Ditto Dº	2 Ditto		4	
Ditto Dº	1 Ditto		4	
Ditto Dº	Spring Colt		6	23
In all				130

Note. In the above accᵗ; are included 2 English mares and their colts, the one a Horse and the other a mare which by being at a meadow had not been included in any of the foregoing lists. Of the above mares 16 may go to Magnolia, and 33 to the Jack-Ass if he should arrive safe, and both of them be in order at the proper Season for covering.

Cattle.

Bulls	aged	2	
	2 yrs old	2	
	1 yr old	2	6
Drought oxen			26
Steers — full grown		35	
	4 yrs old	4	
	3 yrs old	10	
	2 yrs old	14	
	1 yr old	12	
	Calves	27	102
Cows			101
Heifers 6 yrs. old		6	
	4 yrs old	6	
	3 yrs. Dº	20	

2 yrs D° . . .	19	
1 yr. D° . . .	10	
Calves	31	92
		327
Beeves fatting		9
In all		336

Sheep.

Rams		19
Ewes		167
Lambs		15
Weathers	59	
Ditto — fatting	23	82
In all		283.

Friday, 25th.

Thermometer at 50 in the Morn'g. — at noon — and — at night. Wind Westerly & Cooler than it had been the two days proceeding about noon a black cloud arose to the Westward out of which came a mixture of Snow and Rain — this disappearing the sun shone but the day upon the whole was variable & unpleasant.

Set out after breakfast, accompanied by Mr. G. [Augustine] Washington, to make Mr Mason at Colchester a visit, but hearing on the road that he had removed from thence I turned into Gunston Hall[1] where we dined and returned in the evening & found Colo Henry Lee his & lady here.

Mr [William] Shaw returned having removed George & Lawe Washington to the Alexandria Academy & fixed them at the Widow Dade.[2]

Saturday, 26th.

Thermometer at 44 in the Morning — 57 at noon — and 50 at night. Wind Westerly and rather Cool in the Morning but less of it & warmer afterwards — day variable — Clouds & sunshine.

[1] Residence of George Mason.

[2] See letter to Sir Edward Newenham, p. 186, *post*.

Colº Lee & his Lady went away after breakfast — crossing to Maryland on their way home.

Sunday, 27th.

Thermometer at 46 in the Morn'g — 52 at noon — and 50 at night. Very little wind all day but smoaky with some clouds and rather chilly.

General [Benjamin] Lincoln and Colº [David] Henley Dined here & returned in the afternoon.

Monday, 28th.

Thermometer at 46 in the Morning 50 at noon — and — at Night. Thick Smoak and clouds in the Morning & great appearances of snow until one O clock, when the Sun came out and was more pleasant but cold notwithstanding.

Went with G. [Augustine] Washington to dine with Colº Lyles in Alexandria returned in the evening.

Tuesday, 29th.

Thermometer at 44 in the Morning — 54 at noon — and 54 at night. A large hoar from frost followed by southerly wind and some clouds — but upon the whole tolerably clear & pleasant.

Sent my Boat to Alexandria for a Hhd. of Common Rum and some articles brought from Boston for me by General Lincoln — Majr. G. [Augustine] Washington were [? went] up to receive them.

Went out after Breakfast with my hounds from France, & two which were lent me, yesterday by young Mr Mason, found a Fox which was run tolerably well by two of the Frh Bitches & one of Mason's dogs. the other French Dogs showed but little disposition to follow, and with the second dog of Mason's got upon another Fox which was followed slow and indifferently by some & not at all by the rest until the eve: became so cold that it cd not be followed at all.

Wednesday, 30th.

Thermometer at 45 in the Morning — 52 at noon — and 55 at night. Morning very thick with clouds & smoak — about

9 O'clock it began to snow very moderately which neither continued long, nor lay on the ground — at one the sun came out, and the afternoon became clear and pleasant, the wind though not much of it, being Southerly all day.

On the Wheat which was given to me by Colº Spaight from the Cape of Good hope and which having been sowed forward had become very forward — full half leg high and jointed I determined to try an experiment and accordingly on three Rows next the fencing on the East side the Inclosure I cut it within four Inches of the ground just above the crown of the plant from whence the shutes had issued, the remainder I suffered to remain in its exuberant state to try the difference.[1]

DECEMBER.

Thursday, 1st.

Thermometer at — in the Morning — at noon — and 52 at night. White frost and clear Morning — very little wind all day and that Southerly.

Took the hounds out before sunrise — and about 8 O clock after being upon several drags, or the same drag several times put up a Fox which the dogs run very indifferently — being very much dispersed, and often at cold Hunting until about 12 or between that and one when the Scent had got so cold that they could follow it no longer 3 or 4 of the French Hds discovered no greater disposition for Hunting to day than they did on Tuesday last.

Miss Kitty Washington went from this after Breakfast, to Alexandria — and Mr [William] Shaw who with G. [Augustine] Washington went out a Hunting with me meeting her in the Road accompanied her to that place.

In order to try the difference between burning Spermacite and Tallow Candles — I took one of each.

The 1st weighing . . . . . 3 oz: 10 pwt: 6g:
2 . . Ditto 5. 2

and lighted them at the same instant — the first burnt 8 hours and 21 minutes; when of the latter their remained 14 penny weight,

[1] See letters to James Madison and David Stuart, p. 188, *post*.

which continued to burn one hour and a quarter longer, making in all 9 hours and 36 minutes. By which it appears (as both burnt with out flairing) that, estimating Spirmeciti candles at 8/ p^{r} lb. & Tallow candles at 1/. p^{r} lb. the former is dearer than the latter as ·30 is to nearly 13. In other words more than 2¼ dearer.[1]

Friday, 2^{d}.

Thermometer at — in the Morning 56 at noon — and 56 at night.

Col^{o} & M^{rs} M^{c}carty came here to Dinner — as did Colonels [John] Fitzgerald and [George] Gilpin — and M^{r} Cha^{s} Lee & Doct^{r} Baker.

Wind Southerly all day — clear & pleasant.

Saturday, 3^{d}.

Thermometer at 50 in the Morning 56 at noon — and 61 at night. The day very pleasant until the afternoon when it began to lower — the Wind in the Morning was Westerly, & in the Evening Easterly but not much of it.

Employed all day at my writing Table on business of the Potomack company — bro^{t} 2 Hounds fr^{m} Col^{o} M^{c}Carty.

George Washington & wife went up to Abingdon after Breakfast Doct^{r} Brown dined here and went away afterwards.

Finished covering My Ice House with dirt & sodding of it.

Sunday, 4th.

Thermometer at 53 in the Morn^{g}. 56 at noon — and 59 at night. A thick fog, or rather mist in the Morning, with out any wind until about 10 O'clock, when it turned to a slow rain, which ceased about noon and assumed the appearance of fair weather, but about 4 O'clock it began to drip again.

Last night Jn^{o}. Alton, an Overseer of mine in the neck an old and faithful servant who had lived with me 30 odd years died of an imposthumus in his thigh after lingering for more than four months with it, and being reduced to a mere skeleton and this evening the wife of Tho^{s} Bishop, another old servant who had lived with me an equal number of years also died.

[1] See letter to the Count de Rochambeau, p. 190, *post*.

Monday, 5th.

Thermometer at — in the Morning — 58 at noon & 58 at night. Lowering all day — with very little wind and that Northerly.

It being a good scenting morning I went out with the Hounds (carrying the two had from Colº McCarty, run at different two foxes but caught neither — my French Hounds performed better to day, and have afforded hopes of their performing well, when they come to be a little more used to Hunting, and understand more fully the kind of game they are intended to run.

When I returned home wch was not until past three O'clock found a Doctr Baynham here recommended to me by Colº [George William] Fairfax of England.

George [Augustine] Washington and his wife returned in the Evening from Abingdon.

My Overseer [John] Fairfax also returned this Evening with Jack Ass, and his Keeper a Spaniard from Boston.

Tuesday, 6th.

Thermometer at 52 in the Morn'g. 57 at noon — and 59 at night. Morning clear and very pleasant with but little wind — before noon it sprang up from the Westward, and afterwards became cloudy but the sun set clear.

Finished getting in the Wood the Posts & railing for the fencing of my paddock.

Made another experiment of the difference in expense between burning Spirmaciti & Tallow candles which showed that a Tallow candle weighing 3oz 11pn Wt burned 5 Hr 48 M. A Spirmaciti Dº weighing 3 oz. 9 P. W. 18 grns burned 7 Hrs & 28 M. which is an hour and forty mints longer than the Tallow candle & of which when the latter was burned out there remained 14 penny Wt 6 grns Hence, reckoning as in the former instance, Tallow at 1 / pr lb, & Spurmaciti at 3/. pr lb. the latter is dearer than tne former as 31½ is to ten & an half or[1]

Wednesday, 7th.

Thermometer at 52 in the Morning & 59 at noon — but removing it afterwards out of the room where the fire was, into the East

[1] See letter to William Gordon, p. 191, *post*.

Entry leading into my study, this circumstance with the encrease of the cold fell the Mercury to 42. Morning clear calm & pleas^{t} but the wind coming out violently from the N^{o} West about half after eight O'clock, it turned cold & uncomfortable.

Doc^{r} Baynham went away after Breakfast.

Sent M^{r} [William] Shaw to Alexandria to discharge Lieu^{t} Governor [Thomas] Cushings draft on me for 300 silver Dollars in favor of M^{r} ! the order being in the hands of M^{r} Taylor and to do other business.

Took away the supports to the Arch over my Ice house.

Thursday, 8th.

Thermometer at 30 in the Morning 38 at noon — and — at night. Wind to the eastward of North in the Morning, and cold — ground hard frozen — afterwards it died away in a great measure and shifted more to the Westward backing.

Finished removing the earth for covering of, and the way in to My Ice House. and again set the people to taking up and planting small Pines in the Wilderness on the Right of the lawn.

Also sent to Col^{o} Mason's Quarter and got young Crab trees for the shrubberies — but not getting them home in time to plant, the Roots were buried until they could be planted in the places designed for them tomorrow or &c^{a}

Capt^{n} Sullivan, of a ship at Alexandria, agreeably to my request came here to dinner, to interpret between me & the Spaniard who had the care of the Jackass sent me — My questions, and his answers respecting the Jack are committed to writing — Capt^{n} Sullivan returned after dinner & Capt^{n} Fairley[1] of New York came here in the Afternoon.

Friday, 9th.

Thermometer at 36 in the Morning 39 at noon — and — at night. Not much wind — thick and misting all day — toward night it began to rain & continued to do so until day.

Planted the Crab trees which were brought here yesterday and more young pines.

[1] James Fairlie.

Saturday, 10th.

Thermometer at 36 in the Morning 38 at Noon — and 40 at night. Little or no wind all day but thick and Mizling as yesterday till night when it began to rain fast again.

Opened a drain into the that goes from the cellars to receive the water from the gutters and spout from the House top that it may be carried of under ground.

Flooring the Ice House. Preparing with the Negros for Killing Hogs on Monday.

Sunday, 11th.

Thermometer at 38 in the Morn'g. 50 at noon — and 58 at night. A heavy mist all day with little or no wind — at or before dusk it began to rain fast, and about 9 at night it cleared with a puff of wind from the Southward and the moon & stars appeared.

Mr Wilson, Mr Sanderson and a Mr Hugh Mitchel dined here and went away in the afternoon.[1]

Monday, 12th.

Thermometer at — in the morning — at noon — and 58 at night. Morning cloudy and soft with out any wind. In the evening it began to mizzle and after dark to rain fast and continued to do so until I went to bed and how much longer I know not.

Majr [James] Farlie went away before breakfast, with 251 Diplomas which I had signed for the Members of the Cincinnati of the State of New York, at the request of General [Alexander] McDougall, President of that Society.

After an early breakfast George [Augustine] Washington Mr [William] Shaw & Myself went in to the woods back of muddy hole Plantation a hunting and were joined by Mr. Lund Washington and Mr. William Peake. About half after ten Oclock (being first plagued with the dogs running Hogs) we found a fox near Colo Masons Plantation on little Hunting Creek (west fork) having followed on his Drag more than half a mile, and run him with eight Dogs (the other 4 getting, as was supposed after a second Fox) close and well for an hour — when the Dogs came to a fence

[1] See letters to Alexander Hamilton and General Knox, pp. 192, 193, *post*.

and to cold Hunting until 20 minutes after 12 when being joined by the missing Dogs they put him up a fresh and in about 50 minutes killed up in an open field of Colº Mason's. every rider and every Dog being present at the Death. Two Hounds which were lent, and sent to me yesterday by Mr Chichester — viz — a Dog named Rattler, & a Bitch named June, behaved very well. My French Dogs also came on — all except the Bitch which raized Puppies running constantly whilst the Scent was hot —

Mr. [William] Peak & Lund Washington came home to dinner as with us.

Tuesday, 13th.

Thermometer at — in the Morn'g. 47 at noon — and — at night. Wind Westerly — fresh, & air turning cold. flying clouds all day, but clear at night and still.

Finished killing My Hogs — the number & weight of which are as follow.

	No.	Wt
River Plantn	44	6814
Dogue run. Dº	28	4003
Muddy Hole Do.	30	3638
Ferry " Do.	26	2930
Total	128	17385

out of the above Thos Bishop & Thos Green are each to have 500 Hesikiah Fairfax has had 480 & Morris 416 — and Davy 414. leaving for family use 15075lb which with 4 Hogs killed for early Bacon (in October) weighing 810lb make in all 15,885lb laid up for the consumption of my table — use of my people and the poor who are distressed for it.

Mr [Abraham] Baldwin formerly a Chaplain in the Army from Connecticut — now a Lawyer in the State of Georgia called here on his way to the last but would not stay dinner.

A Mr Douglas came here to rent my Land on Difficult run for which I asked him £58 pr ann. and to which he is to give an answer after consulting his Brother in Alexandria.

Wednesday, 14th.

Thermometer at 36 in the Morn'g. at noon — and 42 at night. Morning and day clear & pleasant — Wind at Sº East Ground a little froze in the Morning.

Mr George [Augustine] Washington and his wife set off to visit her friend in New Kent &c^{a} Mr Bassett's carriage & Horses having come up for them on Sunday night last.

Rid to the Ferry Plant^{n} the Mill, and Dogue run Plantation and went & came by the place (in front of the H°) where Muddy hole were at work.

Thursday, 15th.

Thermometer at 40 in the Morn^{g}. 45 at noon — and — at night. Moderate & clear all the forepart of the day with the wind at S°. East, but not fresh — In the Afternoon it began to lower at Dusk turned very cloudy — and in the night set in to a constant rain.

Mr [William] Shaw went up to Alexandria after dinner, to a Ball I presume, and in the evening Joseph Winzor & Will^{m} Kirchewall 2 of my tenants from Frederick came in & stayed all night.

Friday, 16th.

Thermometer at 50 in the Morn^{g} 56 at noon — and 56 at night Rainy Morning and an Easterly wind but not much of it Drizzling all day — and towards night it began to rain again and threatened a wet night. very light wind all day.

Before dinner Joseph Hickman, another of my Tenants from Frederick came in to whom and those that came yesterday and — Williams, I passed Leases for the Land on which they live. all went away after it. Mr [William] Shaw returned before dinner from Alexandria.

Saturday, 17th.

Thermometer at 56 in the Morn^{g}. at noon — and — at night. Rainy Morning, wind though not fresh at N° West which afterwards more to the N°. & East & continued raining off & on all day.

Went to Alexandria to meet the Trustees of the Academy in that place, and offered to vest in the hands of the said Trustees, when they are permanently established by Charter, the sum of one thousand pounds, the interest of which only, to be applied towards the establishment of a charity school for the education of Orphan and other poor children. which offer was accepted,

returned again in the evening[1] — Roads remarkably wet and bad.

Sunday, 18th.

Thermometer at 44 in the Morning — 54 at noon — and 52 at night. Morning perfectly clear & pleasant, with but little wind and continued so through the day, severe, moderate and pleasant.

Monday, 19th.

Thermometer at 42 in the Morn'g, 56 at noon — and 52 at night. Calm and pleasant all day especially in the morning, towards evening the wind, though very little of it, came from the Eastward & the weather lowered.

Rid to the Mill, and to Dogue Run Plantation — took the Hounds with me, and in the Pincushion found a fox which the Dogs runs very well for an hour — after which coming to a fault — they took (as I presume) the heel & in Muddy hole found a fresh Fox which was only run by part of the Dogs — the others did not seem inclined to hunt.

Davy a Mulatto man who has for many years looked after my Muddy hole Plantation, went into the neck to take charge of the River Plantation in the room of Jn° Alton deceased, and Will (Son of Doll) was sent to Muddy hole as an overseer in his place.

Both My Mills stopped — & repairing.

Tuesday, 20th.

Thermometer at 42 in the Morn'g. 47 at night — and 45 at noon. Morning tolerably clear, but a red sky at the place of the suns rising (which is an indication of dirty weather) and the wind (tho' not fresh) at N° East The day continued tolerably clear and pleasant until the evening when it began to lower.[2]

Dispatched at his own req[t] the Spaniard who had the cha'e of my Jack from Spain, sent him with M[r] [William] Shaw to Alexandria to go in the Stage to New York.

[1] See Washington's letter to the Trustees, 17 December, 1785, in Sparks, ix. 159.

[2] See letters to Governor Johnson and Lund Washington, pp. 194, 195, *post*.

Brought some Carts and Cutters from My Plantations to assist in laying in a Stock of Firewood for Christmas.

Mr. [William] Shaw returned in the evening accompanied by my Nephew Ferdinando Washington.[1]

Wednesday, 21st.

Thermometer at 44 in the Morning — 44 at noon — and 46 at night. Lowering all day with but little Wind and that easterly.

Mr Danl Dulany (son of Danl) Mr Benjn Dulany Mess. Saml & Thos Hanson, Mr Philp Alexander, and a Mr Mourshcr came here to Dinner and stayed all Night.

Finished measuring my corn at the several Plantations, which stand thus.

	Barrels	
River — Plantation. viz.		
Large end of Corn &c	203	
Small end of Ditto	135	
Fatting Hogs have eat	44	
For Mr. Alton	6	388
Muddy hole Plantn viz.		
In the Corn House	112	
Given to yr fatt'g Hogs.	28	140
Dogue Run Plantn viz.		
In corn House	45	
Given to the Hogs	30	75
Ferry Plantation — viz.		
In the Corn House	85	
Fatting Hogs	28	
Overseers share	14	127
Total		730
Deduct.		
Corn already expd on Hogs,	130	
Overseers shares	20	150
Remaining for all my purps, only		580.

[1] Son of Samuel Washington.

Went a Fox hunting with the Gentlemen who came here yesterday together with Ferdinando Washington and Mr. [William] Shaw, after a very early breakfast. found a Fox just back of Muddy hole Plantation and after a chase of an hour and a quarter with my Dogs, & eight couple of Doctor Smiths (brought by Mr Phil-Alexander) we put him into a hollow tree, in which we fastened him, and in the Pincushion put up another Fox which in an hour and 13 minutes was killed — we then after allowing the Fox in the hole half an hour put the Dogs upon his Track & in half a mile he took to another hollow tree and was again put out of it but he did not go 600 yards before he had recourse to the same shift — finding therefore that he was a conquered Fox we took the Dogs off and all came home to Dinner except Mr Danl Dulany who left us in the Field after the first Fox was treed — Lund Washington came home with us to dinner. Doctr Brown who had been sent for to Philip Bateman — came to Dinner and returned afterwards as did all the Gentlemen except the two Mr Hansons & Mr Alexander.

The Morning of this day indeed all the forenoon was very lowering but the evening was clear & very pleasant.

Friday, 23d.

Thermometer at in the Morn'g. 44 at noon — and 42 at night. Morning cloudy, with the wind at West, which shifting to the No. Et produced strong and encreasing appearances of falling weather before the evening.

Went out with the two Mr Hansons & Mr Alexander when they set out on their return after breakfast, with the Dogs; just to try if we could touch on a Fox as we went along the Road — they homeward and I to My Plantation in the neck, this we did, but the scent being Cold, and seeing no great prospect of making it out the Dogs were taking off and the Gentlemen went home — and I to Muddy hole Plantation instead of the neck — it being too late to go to, and return from the former before Dinner.

Saturday, 24th.

Thermometer at 38 in the Morn'g. 34 at night — and 36 at noon. Wind at No East with rain in the Morning (a good deal of wch ap-

peared to have fallen in the night.) About 10 O'clock it began to snow & continued to do so untill about 2 Oclock when it ceased just covering the Ground the snow being wet.

Sunday, 25th.

Thermometer at 34 in the Morn'g — 42 at noon — and 42 at night. Morning perfectly clear and fine without wind — about 9 O'clock it sprang up from the Southward and blew fresh with various appearances of weather sometimes much like rain & then clearing at night the wind shifted to the Westward and before Morning got to N° West blowing hard all the while.

Count Castiglioni, Col° Ball and Mr. Will^m Hunter came here to dinner — the last of whom returned to Alexandria afterwards.

Monday, 26th.

Thermometer at 32 in the Morning — 40 at Noon — and 38 at Night. Clear and cold in the Morning with the wind high at N° West which moderated a little towards Night.

Tuesday, 27th.

Thermometer at 38 in the morning 44 at noon — and — at night Clear with the wind very high from the Southward until the evening when it shifted to the Westward & blew equally hard but did not get to be very cold.

Wednesday, 28th.

Thermometer at 36 in the Morning 38 at noon — and — at night.

Col° Ball went away yesterday, after breakfast, tho' it was unnoticed in the occurrences of the day.

Wind exceedingly high from the N° West & clear.

A Mr. Israel Jenny of Loudon County came here in the afternoon, respecting some land which he has been endeavouring to obtain under an idea of its being waste, but which he finds to be within the lines of my Chattin run tract in Fauquier County, though claimed by M^r Robert Scott, who has put a tenant upon it of the name of Jesse Hite, who has now been upon it three years

and thereafter to pay Rent. Mr. [Battaile] Muse my Collector to be written to on this subject as also concerning My land in Ashbys Bend part of wch is claimed by Mr Landon Carter.

Thursday, 29th.

Thermometer at 29 in the Morning — at Noon — and 40 at night. Morning clear with very little wind and that from the South — pleasant all day until the evening when it began to lower and about 8 at night set in to raining with a strong Southerly Wind wch continued through the night.

Count Castiglioni went away after breakfast, on his tour to the Southward. Mr. [Israel] Jenny also left this at the same time.

After which I went to My Dogue run Plantation to measure, with a view to new model, the Fields at that place — did not return until dark nor finish my survey.

Mr [William] Shaw went to Alexandria to the Assembly.

Friday, 30th.

Thermometer at 46 in the — at Noon — and — at night. A good deal of rain fell in the night which ceased about day break but the wind from the Southward continued to blow very hard all day with flying clouds.

Went to Dogue run again to compleat my surveys of the Fields which I did about 2 O'clock, and upon my return Found Miss Sally Ramsay, Miss Kitty Washington — Mr Porter and Doctr Craik Junr here. Mr [William] Shaw also returned from Alexandria before Dinner.

Saturday, 31st.

Thermometer at — in the Morning — at noon — and 37 at night. A Raw Wind from the Eastwd blew in the forenoon — afternoon calm, but chilly. with appearances now & then of a Change in the weather.

Rid to my Plantations in the neck Muddy hole, and Ferry. George Steptoe Washington came here to Dinner — and after it went away the Company that came yesterday.

Landed 230 Bushels of oats today from an Eastern shore vessel

— and by her had brought from Alexandria the Picture drawn by Mr. [Robert Edge] Pine of Fanny Bassett now Washington and the young [George Washington Parke] Custis.

NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS.[1]

1785.

Jan. 10th. The white thorn full in berry.

20. Began to clear the undergrowth in the Pine grove.

Feb. 12. Renewed the Work in the Pine grove, it having been long interrupted by snow on the ground.

16. Transplanted Ivy under the wall of the N° Gard. with as much dirt to the root as could be taken up.

18. Transplanted d° [Ivy] under the wall of the S° Garden, north side.

Mar. 2. Began to cart dung upon the ground adjoining the Pine groves intended for clover and orchard grass seeds.

7. Finished plowing the ground, adjoining the Pine groves, for clover and orchard grass seeds, which was begun in december last.

11. Planted Hemlock Pine from occoquan.

12. A Bushel of the Plaister of Paris pounded and sifted weighs 82 lbs.

April 6. Sowed holly berries back of and immediately adjoining to, the green brier hedge on the N° side the gate in front of the house in 3 drills.

6. Sent the shad sein to the Ferry to commence fishing for shad.

7. Sowed half the lower semicircle with holly berries in drills as above.

7. Assembled a number of Plows to prepare for sowing the clover & orchard grass seeds by the Pine groves, but rain soon stopped them.

8. Hoed the ground back of the greenbrier hedges to prepare it for sowing grass seeds with diff^t quantities of the Plaister of Paris, to try the efficacy of it as a manure.

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[1] A memorandum in Washington's writing of his agricultural operations during the year.

8. Scattered 2½ Bushels of this plaister on ½ the circle in the C^{t} yard, N^{o} side.

9. Laid off 4 acres of gr^{d} at Muddy hole, & sp^{d} Dung thick on it for clover from the farm yard and began to break it up and prepare it for sowing.

11. The Plows (tho' the gr^{d} was not in good order being too wet) were again set to work by the Pine grove, & the Hoes in the piece adjoining.

12. Sowed Holly berries in drills (3 rows) from the Kitchen to the ha! ha! — and from the servants Hall to the Smith's shop [*words illegible.*]

12. Plowing, rolling, & harrowing the ground for grass seeds at home, by the Pine grove.

14. Sowed the above 4 acres at Muddy hole with clover seed, 40 lbs. — the ground had been twice plowed — once harrowed & gone over with Hoes to break the clods, a bush harrow and [*illegible*] followed.

14. Sowed 60 lbs. of clover seed in the ground by the Pine grove (upper side by ditch) — leaving a space of 6 feet — sowed half a Bushel of orchard grass seed and 5 pints of clover seed mixed together, in a breadth quite through the field — then leaving another interval of 6 feet, 4½ pecks of the orchard grass seed unmixed were sown and the whole harrowed in with a bush harrow. Note, the ground before it was sowed, had been 3 times plowed — twice harrowed, and twice rolled, upon the last of which the seed was sown — and considering the bad weather of the Winter & spring, was in tolerably good order.

14. Sowed 3 bushels of orchard grass seed on 3 acres of wheat at Muddy hole, adjoining the clover: & six bushels of the Plaister of Paris in powder along with it — both rolled in; but it was observed that the gr^{d} had received very little benefit from the rolling; the seed not being buried at all, on acc^{t} of the hardness & dryness thereof!

16. Sowed 1¾ Bush^{ls} of the Albany Pease behind the stable.

18. Sowed the point (after grubbing and taking the Tussocks and other trash off and burning it) below the clover & orchard grass from a d^{bl} chestnut tree downwards, with Barley had from Col^{o} Henry Lee — The East side of this was sprinkled with 2 bushels of Plaister of Paris (Powdered) and harrowed in along with the Barley — After w^{ch} orchard grass was sown thereon and harrowed in with a bush harrow. On the west side of this point, Barley was also sowed and harrowed in with the Iron harrow as on the east side, & the orchard grass seed harrowed with the bush — but the Plaister was sown last and not touched to try the difference betw^{n} burying & letting it lye on the surface — and to try also the virtues of the Plaister as a manure. The gr^{d} adjoining

this point, along the fence of the hops, was also sowed with the same Barley & orchard grass seed this day, the grd being first manured with stable & farm yard dung.

20. Again rolled the 3 acres of wheat at Muddy hole, on which the orchard grass seed were sown the 15th — This rolling (tho after rain) was but of little service, as the hills of the last year's corn prevented much, if any good effect.

25. Having got the grd on the Nº side of the gate, between the brier hedge & ditch in a good state of preparation for the grass seeds intended to be sown in it, for making experiments with the Plaister of Paris, it was divided into equal sections from the outer ditch, pointing to the center of the old gate, the outer part of which, at the ditch was 18½ feet (the inner at the edge of the holly berries 16 feet) — each of these sections contained 655 sqr feet — on the first of which, next the road, 5, on the next 4, on the next 3, on the next 2, & on the next 1 pint of the Plaister of Paris was sprinkled — the next section had none — Then 5, 4, 3, 2, 1 & nothing again — and so a third time, which made as it were 3 grand divisions — The first named of which the Plaister was harrowed in with a heavy harrow — The 2d with a bush. — and the 3d was only rolled without harrowing. This was done to try whether burying the Plaister deep, shallow, or not at all, was best, and to ascertain the qtr proper to an acre; — the above being at the rate of 1, 2, 3, 4 & 5 bushels to the acre. The whole, after the Plaister was treated in this manner, was sown with orchard grass seeds, about 8 quarts.

26. The circle on the south side of the gate, was treated in every respect as the other, beginning with the greatest quantity of the plaister next the road.

26. The Barley and Pease were perceived to be coming up. — the first very generally — the latter first making their appearance.

May 7. The Barley & Pease seem to have come on well. The clover had advanced but little — The first sown orchard grass seeds were making their appearance; — but none of the second were to be seen.

7. Discovered no benefit from the Plaister which was put on the circle in the Cl yard — nor from that which had been spread on the wheat at Muddy hole.

10. Quitted fishing at the Ferry landing.

18. Finished planting corn at Muddy hole. — only began to plant it at the Ferry on 12th and at Dogue run the 18th instt, owing to the constant wet & cold spring.

25 Pease were brought to Table for the first time in the season today.

June 3. Opened my Ice House.

17. Cut down (with scythes) the weeds which had shot up, very rank in the ground which had been sown with clover & orchard grass seeds at the Home House — as also those in the circles by the gate.

20. Began to gather seed from the blew or English grass.

July 27. Cut my Pease which grew from the Albany seed.

29. Again (for the 2d time) cut the weeds among the clover at the Home House & for the first time those in the clover field at Muddy hole.

Augt 15. Obliged to discontinue sowing wheat in corn ground — the drought being so great that the existence of the corn was endangered by stirring the earth.

24 Measured round the ground intended for a deer paddock — find the fence will be about 1600 yards in length that incloses it.

27. Planted about 1000 grains of the cape wheat below my stables in 2 feet rows and 5 inches distant in the rows.

30. The latter rains had revived the corn and occasioned a number of fresh shoots — but it is apprehended that there was not of the farina suffe in the Tassel to impregnate the grain.

30. Remarked that corn and wheat grow as well under Persimon trees as in open exposures, which proves the value of them for shades, and for their fruit wch may be distilled &ca

31. The Cape wheat was coming up today.

Sep. 1. Planted abt 1400 more grains of the Cape wheat along side of the former in rows similar thereto — the 2 quantities about ½ a gill.

17. Transplanted turnips on a rod sqr 1 foot apart cutting the tap root.

Oct. 7. Plowed a cowpen in front of the House, containing about a quarter of an acre for orchard grass.

8. Sowed it with near half a bushel of seed, (which was neither clean, nor appeared to be good.)

19. Planted, after making good the deficiencies of the former about a pint of the cape of good hope wheat (sent me by Mr Powell) in 14 rows along side of the other in the inclosure behind the stables.

23. The orchard grass seeds sowed on the 8th inst. was coming up thick and well.

24. A small spot of orchard grass seed, sown on low land at Dogue run the was coming up very well.

28. Put up Hogs to fatten.

Novr **2.** The Cape wheat (of Mr Powell's) was coming up very well.

5. Put powdered Plaister of Paris, 2 quarts, viz. 1 burnt; the other unburnt, on two sections of the circle in the court yard, from the deal post to the center post of the street to the Quarter, which is at the rate of 8 bushls to the acre, being the poorest part of the circle. The west section was spread with the unburnt.

30. The first sowed cape wheat having become very rank at least half leg high and jointed, I cut 3 rows on the East side within 4 Inches of the grd just above the crown of the plant.

Dec. **1.** Experiment on the difference between spirmaceti candles and Tallow related.

6. Another experiment for the same purpose

13. Killed my Hogs that had been put up to fatten.

21. Finished measuring Corn at all the Plantations — see acct of it.

LETTERS OF WASHINGTON, 1785.

I.

TO RICHARD HENRY LEE.

MOUNT VERNON, August 22, 1785.

DEAR SIR — In my absence with the directors of the Potomac navigation, to examine the river, and fix a plan of operations, your favour begun on the 23d, and ended the 31st of July, came to this place. I am sorry to hear of your late indisposition, but congratulate you on your recovery; hoping that the re-establishment of your health will be of long continuance. The packet which you were so obliging as to send me, came safely, and I thank you for your care of it; but for want of knowledge of the language, I can form no opinion of my own of the dramatic performance of Monsieur Serviteur le Barbier.

The currency of my information from France is, that the dispute between the emperor and Holland, will be accommodated without

bloodshed; but after the explicit declarations which have been made on both sides, I do not see how either (especially the first) can recede from his claims. To save appearances, and to let the contending parties down handsomely, say some of my letters, is now the greatest difficulty; but all agree, that a spark may set the whole in flames; indeed Bavaria, it is expected, will yet do this.

It is to be hoped that our minister at the court of London, will bring that government to an explanation respecting the Western posts, which it still retains on the American side of the line, contrary to the spirit, if not to the letter, of the treaty. My opinion from the first, and so I declared it, was, that these posts would be detained from us, so long as they changed it, though I wish for cause to do so, as it may ultimately become a serious matter. However singular the opinion may be, I cannot divest myself of it, that the navigation of the Mississippi, at this time, ought to be no object with us; on the contrary, till we have a little time allowed to open and make easy the ways between the Atlantic States and the western territory, the obstructions had better remain. There is nothing which binds one country, or one state, to another, but interest; without this cement, the western inhabitants (which more than probably will be composed in a great degree of foreigners) can have no predilection for us; and a commercial connexion is the only tie we can have upon them.

It is clear to me that the trade of the lakes and of the river Ohio, as low as the Great Kanhawa (if not to the falls) may be brought to the ports on the Atlantic, easier and cheaper, (taking the whole voyage together) than it can be carried to New Orleans; but once open the door to the latter, before the obstructions are removed from the former; let commercial connexions (which lead to others) be formed, and the habit of that trade be well established, and it will be found no easy matter to divert it; and vice versa.

When the settlements are stronger and more extended to the westward, the navigation of the river Mississippi will be an object of importance; and we shall be able then (reserving our claim) to speak a more efficacious language than policy, I think, should dictate at present.

I never have, and I hope never shall hear, any serious mention of a paper emission in this state, yet such a thing may be in agitation. Ignorance and design are productive of much mischief, (the first is the tool of the latter,) and are often set to work as suddenly as unexpectedly; those with whom I have conversed on this subject, in this part of the state, reprobate the idea exceedingly.

We have lately had the pleasure of Miss Lee's and Miss Hannah's

company at this place; they were both well five days ago. Mrs. Washington prays you to accept her compliments; and with sentiments &c &c &c &c

GEO. WASHINGTON.

P. S.

Your name, I well remember, stands amongst those of the subscribers for a share in the Potomac Company.

G. W.

II.

TO JONATHAN TRUMBULL.

MOUNT VERNON, 1 October, 1785.

MY D^R^ SIR — It has so happened, that your letter of the first of last month did not reach me until Saturday's post.

You know too well the sincere respect & regard I entertained for your venerable Father's public & private character to require assurances of the concern I felt for his death; or of that sympathy in your feelings for the loss of him, which is prompted by friendship: — Under it however, great as your pangs may have been at the first shock, you have every thing to console you. A long & well spent life in the service of his Country, justly entitled him to the first place among patriots. In the social duties he yielded to none; & his lamp, from the common course of nature, being nearly extinguished — and worn down with age & cares; but retaining his mental faculties in full vigor; — are blessings which rarely attend advanced life: — All these combining have secured to him universal respect & Love here; & no doubt immeasurable happiness hereafter.

I am sensible that none of these observations can have escaped you, & that I can offer nothing which your own reason has not already suggested on this occasion; & being moreover of Sternes opinion that — "Before an affliction is digested, consolation ever comes too soon; — and after it is digested it comes too late: — there is but a mark between these two, as fine almost as a hair, for a comforter to take aim at." I rarely attempt it — nor shall I add more on this subject to you; as it would only be a renewal of sorrow, by recalling afresh to your Remembrance things which had better be forgotten.

My principal pursuits are of a rural Nature, in which I have great delight; especially as I am blessed with the enjoyment of good health. M^rs^ Washington on the contrary is scarcely ever well, but thankful for

your Kind remembrance of her, & joins me in every good wish for you, Mrs. Trumbull & your family — Be assured that, with sentiments of the purest esteem & regard,

I am &c

G: WASHINGTON.

III.

TO JOHN PAGE.

MOUNT VERNON, 3 October, 1785.

. . . . . .

Soon after I returned from Richmond in May last, I spoke to a Dutch merchant in Alexandria on the subject of importing Germans; but not receiving any satisfactory information from him, tho' he was perfectly willing to oblige, I requested him, as he was on the eve of a journey thro' Baltimore to Boston, at both which Dutch Houses are established, & in the last he is concerned; to make every enquiry he could respecting the mode — the terms, & practicability of obtaining the number we want: — but meeting with no precise information here neither — I wrote some little time ago to M. De Neufville, a Gentleman of very respectable character at Amsterdam, with whom I have long corresponded, for full information; & to know also, if £5000 could be borrowed for the use of the Company[1] on such terms, & upon such securities as it proposed to give. Herein also I have been unlucky, for soon after I had written & had sent my Letter to New York to obtain a passage by the Packet, I received an account of this Gentlemans arrival at Boston. These delays following the enquiries which I only considered as auxiliary to those of the Managers, to whom I intended to communicate the result, will be unlucky if they have taken no steps in the mean while themselves — Would it not be advisable in case my good Sir, for you as one of them to go fully into the matter whilst you are at Philadelphia, where, it is to be presumed, the best information on this side the Atlantic is to be obtained; & the most likely place to enter into contracts — unless a person in behalf of the Company, should be sent to Holland expressly for this purpose; or a gentleman there, in whom confidence could be placed would undertake it.

But unless Mr. Anderson should succeed in negotiating the loan he was requested to obtain — or the like sum could be borrowed in Holland,

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[1] The Potomac Canal Company.

— we shall be without funds to carry the Plan into effect, & consequently cannot advance beyond the limits of enquiry — or preliminary agreement.

Mrs Washington joins me in respectful compliments to Mrs. Page, who we hope will reap all the benefits which are expected from the change of climate.

With very great esteem &c

G. WASHINGTON.

IV.

TO THE REV. MR. BALCH.

MOUNT VERNON, 22 November, 1785.

REV^D SIR, — The expence attending the residence of my Nephews at Georgetown so far exceeds the idea I was led to entertain when they went there, that, in behalf of their Guardian, I am compelled to remove them.

When they were sent to the Academy under your management, I was informed by Col° Fitzhugh, that the charge for schooling & Board (if I am not mistaken) was £31 — each — Cloathing if judiciously applied & properly attended to, I knew could not be a very great expence, for boys of their standing.

But to my surprize, I have already paid M^r Stoddert £67 — 18 . 6 — Mr. Bayle £55 . 5 . 2 . — & yesterday in a letter from the latter, I am informed that there is half a years board due to him for each — & an acco^t of cloathing besides, yet to be exhibited.

The leading motive Sir, which influenced me to send them to Georgetown — was, their boarding with you, & I expected from what had passed between us, — after the intervention which had occasioned the suspension of it, they would have returned to you: — but now M^r Bayle writes me that he also declines boarding them after the 24^th^ inst. & points out a third Person.

These several circumstances combining, added to a conviction founded in experience, that I can not restrain the profuse & improper advances of Goods for them at a distance, have induced me to bring them to Alexandria, where I shall be a witness to their wants, and can supply their necessities upon more advantageous terms, than they have been hitherto —

I am rev^d Sir &c.

G. WASHINGTON.

V.

TO SIR EDWARD NEWENHAM.

MOUNT VERNON, 25 November, 1785.

DEAR SIR, Since I had the honor of writing to you on the 20th of March, which was done in haste (having but little notice of Capt. Bayles intended departure, before the time appointed for his sailing — & then to send my dispatches to Richmond 125 miles) — I have been favored with your letters of the 3d of March, 25th of May, & 23d of July. The first was forwarded to me by Captn Bibby, whom I have not yet had the pleasure of seeing; tho' he gives me assurances of it, & to whom I shall have pleasure in rendering any services in my power consistently — if it should be found necessary.

The opposition which the virtuous characters of Ireland have given to the attempts of a British Administration's interfering with its manufactures, fettering its commerce, restraining the liberties of its subjects by their plan of reform &c &c, will hand their names to posterity with that reputation & respect to which their amor patriæ entitles them.

Precedents, as you justly observe, are dangerous things — they form the arm which first arrests the liberties & happiness of a Country.

In the first approaches they may indeed assume the garb of plausibility & Moderation, & are generally spoken of by the movers as a *chip in porrage* (to avoid giving alarm) — but soon are made to speak a language equally decisive and irresistible; which shews the necessity of opposition in the first attempts to establish them, let them appear under what guise or courtly form they may; — & proves too that vigilance & watchfulness can scarcely be carried to an excess in guarding against the insidious arts of a Government founded in corruption.

I do not think there is as much wisdom & sound policy displayed in the different Legislatures of these States as might be; yet I hope everything will come right at last. In republican Governments it too often happens that the people (not always seeing) must *feel* before they Act: — this is productive of errors & temporary evils — but generally these evils are of a nature to work their own cure.

The situation of affairs in Ireland, whilst the propositions were pending in the Parliament of it, would, I concluded, be a means of postponing your voyage to this country; — but as these seem to have met their quietus, I hope nothing else will intervene to prevent your fulfilling your expectation of coming in the Spring; — the season will then be favourable for crossing the Atlantic.

Had I been present & apprized of your intention of making an aerial voyage with Mons^r Potain, I should have joined my entreaties to those of Lady Newenham to have prevented it. As yet, I see no object to warrant a gentleman of fortune (happy in himself — happy in a family w^ch might be rendered miserable by a disaster, against which no human foresight can guard) running such a risk. It may do for young men of science & spirit to explore the upper regions: — the observations there made may serve to ascertain the utility of the first discovery, & how far it may be applied to valuable purposes. To such *alone* I think these voyages ought at present to be consigned — & to them handsome public encouragements should be offer'd for the risk they run in ascertaining its usefulness, or the inutility of the pursuit.

I have neither seen nor heard of Mr. Thorpe the s[t]ucco worker mentioned in your letter of the 23^d^ of July. A *good man* acquainted with that business would have come very opportunely to me, as I had, & now have a large room which I am about to finish in this way. I have at length engaged a person to do it; — who from having no rival, imposes his own terms, which I think are exorbitant — good workmen of any profession would meet encouragement in these States. For the many marks of attention which you have been pleased to bestow upon me — I feel myself your Debtor: — could my picture which is placed in a groupe with Dr. Franklin, the Marq^s^ de la Fayette & others in your library, speak the sentiments of the original, it would salute you every morning with its acknowledgements, I have never seen more than one picture of Gen^l^ Green, & that a Mezzotinto print sent to me a few days ago only, by the publisher a Mr. Brown at N^o^ 10 George Yard, Lombard Street, London; taken it is said from a painting done at Philad^a^

The Magazines, Gazettes &^c^ which you had the goodness to forward to me, came safe; & I pray you to accept my thanks for them — My best respects, in which Mrs. Washington joins, are presented to Lady Newenham & yourself.

With sentiments of great esteem & regard,

I am &^c^

G: WASHINGTON.

VI.

TO JAMES MADISON.

As printed by Mr. Sparks (ix. 146), Washington's letter to Madison, dated Mt. Vernon, 30 Nov. 1785, omits after the paragraph ending with the word "*desirable*," the following lines: —

"It gives me great pleasure to hear that our Assembly were in a way of adopting a mode for establishing the cut between Elizabeth River & Pasquotanck which was likely to meet the approbation of the State of N. Carolina. It appears to me that no Country in the Universe is better calculated to derive a benefit from inland navigation than this is, and certain I am that the conveniences to the citizen individually, & the sources of wealth to the country generally which will be opened thereby will be found to exceed the most sanguine imagination. The mind can scarcely take in at one view all the benefits which will result therefrom. The saving in draught cattle, preservation of Roads, &c, &c, will be felt most interestingly. This business only wants a beginning. Rappahanock, Shannondoah, Roanoke and the branches of York River will soon perceive the advantages which water transportation (in ways hardly thought of at first) have over that of land and will extend navigation to almost every man's door."

VII.

TO DAVID STUART.

MOUNT VERNON, 30 November, 1785

D^r^ SIR, Your favor of the 16^th^ came duly to hand, & I thank you for its several communications. The resolutions which were published for consideration, vesting Congress with powers to regulate the commerce of the Union, have I hope been acceded to. If the States individually were to attempt this, an abortion, or a many headed Monster would be the issue. If we consider ourselves, or wish to be considered by others as a United people, why not adopt the measures which are characteristic of it, & support the honor & dignity of one? If we are afraid to trust one another under qualified Powers there is an end of the Union — why then need we be sollicitous to keep up the farce of it?

It gives me pleasure to hear that there is such an accordance of sentiments between the Eastern & Western parts of this State — My

opinion of the separation has always been, to meet them half way, upon fair & just grounds; & part like friends disposed to acts of brotherly Kindness thereafter — I wish you had mention'd the territorial line between us.

The port Bill; the Assize Law (or any substitute for the speedy administration of Justice) being established; — good faith with respect to treaties, preserved by public acts; taxation continued & regularly collected, that justice to one part of the community may keep pace with relief to the other, & our National character *for Justice*, thereby supported; — a due attention to the Militia, and encouragements to extend the inland navigation of this Commonwealth where it is useful & practicable, (which will not only be of amazing convenience & advantage to its citizens, but sources of immense wealth to the country through some of it Channels) — are among the great & important objects which will come before you, & a due attention to them will, I hope, mark the the present epocha for having produced able statesmen, sound patriots & liberal minded men.

At a late Meeting of the Directors of the Potomac Navigation at the great Falls, & from a critical examination of the ground at that place; we unanimously determined to petition the Assemblies of the two States to be relieved from the expence of sinking our canals four feet deep; as a considerable *expence*, & *no advantage* that we could discover, was likely to attend it. As the petition which is herewith sent under cover to you & Col° Syme recites the reasons on which it is founded I shall not repeat them: — the public as well as the Company's interest calls for an œconomical use of the fund which is subscribed for this undertaking; — the enemies therefore (if there are any) to the navigation, are equally bound with its friends, to give it support.

I should be much obliged to you for desiring the public printer to send me the Journals of the present Session from its commencement, — & to do it thro' the session as fast as they are printed, by the Post. I pray you to pay him for them, & for My Gazette (if Hay is the public printer) & I will repay you with thanks when you return.

I am very glad to hear you have got so well over your fever — Mrs. Stuart has had a bad cold but is getting better — All here join me in best wishes for you & I am &°.

G: WASHINGTON.

VIII.

TO COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU.

MOUNT VERNON, 1 December, 1785.

MY DEAR COUNT, Your letter of the 2d of June, which you had the goodness to write me at the moment of your taking leave of the venerable Dr. Franklin, now lies before me; and I read the renewed assurances of your friendship with sentiments of gratitude and pleasure, short of nothing but the satisfaction I should feel at seeing you, and the recollection of the hours in which, toiling together, we formed our friendship, a friendship which I hope will continue as long as we shall continue to be actors on the present theatre.

A man in the vigor of life could not have borne the fatigues of a passage across the Atlantic with more fortitude, and greater ease, than the Doctor did; and since, instead of setting himself down in the lap of ease, which might have been expected from a person at his advanced age, he has again entered upon the bustling scenes of public life, and in the chair of state is endeavouring to reconcile the jarring interests of the citizens of Pennsylvania. If he should succeed, fresh laurels will crown his brow; but it is to be feared, that the task is too great for human wisdom. I have not yet seen the good old man, but have had intercourse with him by letters.

Rumors of war still prevail, between the Dutch and the Emperor, and it seems, if newspaper accounts are to be credited, to be near at hand. If this event should take place, more powers must engage in it, and perhaps a general flame will be kindled ere the first is extinguished. America may think herself happy in having the Atlantic for a barrier; otherwise a spark might set her a blazing. At present we are peaceable, and our governments are acquiring a better tone. Congress, I am persuaded, will soon be vested with greater powers. The commercial interests throughout the Union are exerting themselves to obtain these, and I have no doubt will effect it. We shall be able then, if a commercial treaty is not entered into with Great Britain, to meet her on the restrictive and contracted ground she has taken, and interdict her shipping and trade in the same manner she has done those of these States. This, and this only, will convince her of the illiberality of her conduct towards us; or that her policy has been too refined and overstrained, even for the accomplishment of her own purposes.

Mrs. Washington is thankful for your constant remembrance of her, and joins me in every good wish for you and Madame de Rochambeau.

I have the honor to be, &c.

IX.

TO WILLIAM GORDON.

MOUNT VERNON, 6 December, 1785.

D^r SIR, Altho' I am so great a delinquent in the epistolary way, I will not again tread over the usual ground for an excuse, but rather silently throw myself upon your philanthropy to obtain one.

In reading the Memoir which passed thro' my hands to you (for I have no copy of it) I do not recollect that I was struck with any exagerations or improprieties in it; — nor is it in my power to give you a precise detail of the facts about which you enquire, without unpacking my papers, & entering upon a voluminous research therefor; which might not after all elucidate the points.

Whether Gen! Howe commanded in person at the intended surprize & attack of the Marq^s de la Fayette at Baron Hill, I am unable positively to say: — I would suppose however that he did — first, because the narrative says so — 2^dly because he did not relinquish the command until within a few days of the evacuation of Philadel^a & 3^dly, because the British Army came out in full force. That the column on the right commanded by Gen! Grant was strong, can admit of no doubt; (and report to the best of my recollection made the number 7000) because it was design'd to turn the Marquis's *left* flank, get into his rear, & cut off his retreat by the nearest & most direct roads; whilst he was to have been attacked in front, & on his right (which was next the Schuylkill) by the Commander in Chief, & light infantry; — by the first in front, by the other on the flank.

The French troops which were landed from on board the fleet, formed a junction with the American Troops before, & were all under the Command of the Marquis till my arrival. The position at Williamsburgh was taken I believe, with a view to form the junction, being favorable to it; — the defile between the College Creek which empties into James river, & Queen's Creek which empties into York river, being very narrow, & behind the former of which the French landed in perfect security.

My excursions up this river (for I have had several) have afforded me much satisfaction, as we find the undertaking to extend & improve the navigation of it, is not only practicable; but that the difficulties which were expected to be met with, rather decrease than Multiply upon us.

I come now, my good Doctor, to acknowledge in a particular Man-

ner the receipt of your obliging favor of the 7th ult°, & and to thank you for your kind & valuable present of Fish which is very fine & had a more successful passage than the last, no acco! of which having ever yet been received.

I have too Mrs. Washington's particular thanks to offer you for the flower roots & seeds, which she will preserve in the manner directed. I have put into a box with earth, shrubs of the Redwood (or red-bud) & Fringe tree, which General Lincoln promised his vessel should heave to & take for you as she passed by. I was going to send other flowering shrubs, but upon mentioning the names of them, the Gen! & Col° Henley said your Country already abounded with them. I forgot however, to ask them if you have the Magnolio; — if you have not, I can send some by another opportunity.

I hope this letter will find you quite relieved from the feverish complaint you had when you wrote last, & Mrs. Gordon in perfect health, to whom & yourself Mrs. Washington & the family (who are all well) join me in every good wish — Fanny Bassett & my nephew Geo: A. Washington have fullfiled an engagement of long standing & are now one bone, and one flesh.

With great esteem, &°

G: WASHINGTON.

X.

TO ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

MOUNT VERNON, 11 December, 1785.

D° SIR, I have been favor'd with your letter of the 25th of Nov. by Maj! Farlie. Sincerely do I wish that the several State Societies had, or would adopt the alterations which were made & recommended by the General Meeting in May 1784. I then thought & I have had no cause since to change my opinion, that if the Society of the Cincinnati mean to live in peace with the rest of their fellow citizens, they must subscribe to the Alterations which were at that time adopted. That the jealousies of, & prejudices against this Society were carried to an unwarrantable length, I will readily grant, & that less than was done *ought* to have removed the fears which had been imbibed, I am as clear in, as I am that it would not have done it. But it is a matter of little moment whether the alarm which seized the public mind was the result of foresight, envy, jealousy or a disordered imagination — the effect of

perseverance would have been the same; & wherein would have been found an equivalent for the separation of interests which from my best information (not from one State only, but many) would have inevitably, taken place?

The fears of the people are not yet removed — they only sleep, & a very little matter will set them afloat again.

Had it not been for the predicament in which we stand, with respect to the foreign officers, & the charitable part of the institution, I should on that occasion, as far as my voice would have gone, have endeavoured to convince the narrow minded part of our countrymen that the Amor patriæ was much stronger in our breasts than in theirs; & that our conduct thro' the whole of this business was actuated by nobler & more generous sentiments than was apprehended by abolishing the Society at once with a declaration of the causes & the purity of its intention: — but the latter may be interesting to many, & the former is an insuperable bar to such a step.

I am sincerely sorry to find by your letter that the B—n,[1] is again in straightened circumstance. I am much disinclined to ask favors of Congress, but if I knew what the objects of his wishes are, I should have much pleasure in rendering him any services in my power, with such Members of that Body as I now & then correspond with. I had flattered myself, from what was told me some time ago, that Congress had made a final settlement with the B—n much to his satisfaction.

My compliments & best wishes, in which Mrs. Washington joins, are presented to Mrs. Hamilton.

I am &c

G: WASHINGTON.

P. S. When you see Gen! Schuyler & family, I pray you to offer my best respects to them.

XI.

TO GENERAL KNOX.

MOUNT VERNON 11th Dec. 1785.

MY DEAR SIR, Majr Farlie gave me the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 22d Inst & thereby knowing that you, Mrs Knox & the family are all well.

It has always been my opinion you know, that our Affairs with respect to the Indians would never be in a good train whilst the British Garrisons remained on the American side of the territorial line — & that these

[1] Baron Steuben.

Posts would not be evacuated by them, as long as any pretext could be found to with-hold them. They know the importance of these Posts too well to give them up soon, or quietly. their trade with the Indians in a great measure depend upon the possession of them, knowing full well that all the assertions of our Commᵉˢ with respect to the Articles of Peace, & their obligations to surrender them, is no more than chaff before the wind when opposed by the scale of possession.

I am sorry the State Societies should hesitate to comply with the recommendation of the General Meeting of the Cincinati, holden at Philᵃ in 1784. I then thought, & have no cause since to change my opinion, that nothing short of what was then done would appease the clamours which were raised against this Institution. Some late attacks have been made upon it; amongst which a Pamphlet written by the Count de Mirabeau, a French Gentleman, has just made its appearance. It is come to my hands translated into English, but I have not had time yet to read it.

I am sorry you have undergone any chagreen on accᵗ of the lime-stone. I have got through my summers work without any disappointment therefrom; having had it in my power at all times, when wanted, to buy Shells. nor would I wish to have any sent me now, unless by contract not to exceed one shilling and three pence at the ships side in Alexandria, or opposite to my House; and this I do not expect, as Stone lime is oftener higher at the former place.

It is unnecessary to assure you of the pleasure I should feel at seeing you at this place, whenever business or inclination may bring you to this State. Every good wish in which Mʳˢ Washington joins me, is offered to you, Mʳˢ Knox and the children.

With every sentiment of friendship & regard,

I am, My dear Sir,

Yʳ affecᵗ Hᵇˡᵉ Servᵗ

Gº Washington.

Majʳ Genˡ Knox.

XII.

TO THOMAS JOHNSON.

Mount Vernon, 20 December, 1785.

Dʳ Sir, It so happened that your letter of the 4ᵗʰ ultº with its enclosures, did not meet a quick passage to me, & that some delays after-

wards, more the effect of accident than neglect, prevented the petition & Bill (which you were so obliging as to draw) from getting to the Assemblies of the two States, so soon as were to be wished; however they are now before them; & from that of Maryland, I am informed by a gentleman to whom I had written on the occasion, that the business could meet with no opposition there; — & from that of this State that it was reported reasonable Acts, it is to be hoped, will therefore pass, conformably to our desires.

I feel myself much obliged by the calculations you have been at the trouble to make & to transmit to me; & at all times shall be happy in a full & unreserved communication of your sentiments on this, or any other business. This in particular is a new work — stands in need of all the information we can obtain, & is much indebted to you for many estimates, & ideas which have been very useful.

It is to be apprehended, notwithstanding the great encouragements which have been offered by the Directors of the Company for the hire of Negroes, that we shall not succeed in obtaining them. An idea is entertained by the proprietors of them, that the nature of the work will expose them to dangers which are not compensated by the terms. Servants I hope are purchased ere this; — Col° Fitzgerald was to have gone yesterday to George town for this purpose. If the appearance of the people is at all favorable, the price at which Col° Deakens offers them will be no obstacle.

This letter, handed to the care of Col° Deakens, will be accompanied by a small bag of Spanish Chesnuts — half of which you will please to accept, & the other contrive to M^r^ Lee — they were sent to the Alexandria races in October to be given to him, but the delivery was neglected. It might be well perhaps to put them in sand to prevent an over drying to the injury of vegitation.

With very great esteem &^c^

G: WASHINGTON.

XIII.

TO LUND WASHINGTON.

MOUNT VERNON, 20 December, 1785.

D^r^ LUND, Having come to a fixed determination (whatever else may be left undone) to attend to the business of my plantations; and having enquired of Geo: Washington how far it would be agreeable to him & his wife to make this place a permanent residence, (for before it was

only considered as their temporary abode, until some plan could be settled for them) & finding it to comport with their inclinations, I now inform you that it will be in my power to comply with your wishes with less inconvenience than appeared when you first proposed to leave my employment.

The business of the Mill is what both of us, will be most at a loss about at first; & as the people wanting flour are in the habit of applying to you for it, it would be rendering me a service to give your attention to this matter, until he can become a little acquainted with the mode of managing it; & your advice to him afterwards in this & other affairs may be useful.

The mode of paying the taxes, the times of collection, & in what kind of property it is most advantageous to discharge them, — & the amount of them, is another business in which he will be to seek; & I have not sufficient knowledge of the practice to instruct him.

Nothing else occurs to me at this time in which it is essential to give you any trouble after the present year; for if I should not be able to visit the plantations as often as I could wish, (owing to company or other engagements) I am resolved that an account of the stock & every occurrence that happens in the course of the week shall be minutely detailed to me every Saturday. Matters cannot go much out of sorts in that time without a seasonable remedy. For both our interests, the wheat remaining in the straw should be an object of your care.

I am &c

G: WASHINGTON.

Mr. CHARLES K. BOLTON exhibited and read an anonymous contemporary manuscript belonging to the Boston Athenæum, of which the following is a copy: —

An elegy on the death of General
GEORGE WASHINGTON.

1.

What mournful strains invade our ears?
Whence those sad plaints, those copious tears?
This solemn silence woeful pause!
All, all bespeak some deep felt cause.
A deep felt cause! a nation weeps,
In dust columbia's Guardian sleeps.

2.

A nation's prayers his life to save,
To heav'n in clouds of incence rose,
A nation's tears bedew his grave,
And angels gaurd his sweet repose.
The PATRIOT 's dead! a nation weep.
In dust Columbia's Gaurdian sleeps.

3.

When Albion's proud insulting foe
Aim'd our best rights to overthrow,
His arm, out stretch'd in conquering might
Their veteran army put to flight.
The HERO 's dead! a nation weeps,
In dust Columbia's Guardian sleeps.

4.

The peace obtain'd so long desir'd,
To Vernon's shades the Chief retir'd,
But faction's cruel feud arose,
And broke the Farmer's hop'd repose.
Our FRIEND is dead! a nation weeps,
In dust Columbia's Guardian sleeps.

5.

His Country's voice once more he hears,
And in the Council he appears,
The mighty Charter of our land,
Is sanction'd by our Moses' hand.
Our CHIEF is dead! a nation weeps
In dust Columbia's Guardian sleeps.

6.

With equal laws he rules the state
Supports the weak, directs the great;
Then yields the helmn, retires to rest
By all his Country lov'd and blest.
The SAGE is dead! a nation weeps
In dust Columbia's Guardian sleeps.

7.

Again his ready sword he draws;
Unmov'd he stands in Freedom's cause;
Nor shrinks to heed the marshal band,
Should hostile foes invade the land.
Our GENERAL's dead! &c

8.

Thy ways O King of Kings is just
Or when we live or turn to dust;
Then cease from man, look up on high,
Our only hope's above the sky,
We all must die and turn to dust,
Tho' Man is mortal God is just.

Mr. HENRY H. EDES exhibited a copy of Titan's New Almanack for the Year of Christian Account 1729, printed by William Bradford and containing manuscript entries of contemporary events. The writer of these entries has been ascertained by Mr. Henry W. Cunningham to have been William Sanford of Portsmouth, Rhode Island.[1] Mr. Edes recalled the fact that Bradford was a Quaker who came over with Penn in 1682, and, in 1691, was a partisan of George Keith in his quarrel with the Pennsylvania authorities which resulted in Bradford's removal to New York, where he was Public Printer for more than fifty years. The Sanfords were also Quakers, which may account for their using this particular kind of Almanac. Mr. Cunningham has prepared notes identifying the persons mentioned by Sanford.

The following is a copy of the entries:

1729

JANUARY

16 Jeremiah Clark[2] died aged about 8 years

[1] See Mr. Cunningham's Note on William Sanford, p. 203.

[2] Sanford doubtless made a slip in recording the age. Jeremiah Clark, born 1643, died 16 January, 1729. He was the son of Jeremiah and Frances (Dungan) Clark, who had gone from Boston to Rhode Island and were among the

Titan's New

ALMANACK

For the Year of Chriſtian Account 1729.

Being the firſt after Biſſextile, *or Leap-Year.*

Unto which is Numbred,

From the Creation	By the *Orient* and *Greek Chriſtians*,	7237
	By the *Jews*, *Hebrews* and *Rabbins*,	7489
	By the late Computation of *W. W.*	5738

Wherein is contained

The *Lunations*, *Eclipſes*, *Judgment* of the *Weather*, *Spring Tides*, *Planets Motions* and *Mutual Aſpects*, Time of the Sun and Moons Riſing and Setting, Length of Days, the Seven Stars Riſing and Setting, Time of High-Water, Fairs, Courts, and Obſervable Days.

Fitted to the Latitude of 40 Degrees North, and a Meridian of Five Hours Weſt from *LONDON*, but may, without ſenſible Error, ſerve all the adjacent Places from *Placentia* to *South-Carolina*.

Printed and Sold by *William Bradford*, 1729.

FEBRUARY

11th in the Evening Thoˢ Durfie[1] died

13 about 3 a clock in the afternoon Ruth Sanford[2] first daughter of my Son Richd[3] born

APRIL

30 Jashub Wing[4] & Dorothy married

11 quarterly meeting at Portsmouth

---

most prominent of the early settlers in Newport. Jeremiah the father was Governor of the Colony and died in 1661. Jeremiah the son was a resident of Newport, where in 1701 he was made a Deacon of the Second Baptist Church, and for many years he was a Deputy. He married Ann Audley (Odlin) and had nine children, the second of whom, Frances, born 1669, married in 1689 John Sanford, the brother of the writer of the entries. (Austin, Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island, p. 44; Rhode Island Historical Magazine, vii. 297.)

[1] Thomas Durfie was the son of Thomas Durfie (1643-1712) of Portsmouth. He was a Deputy from Portsmouth in 1707, 1709 (when he was called "Jr.") and 1713, and in 1717 he got relief from the Assembly by the passage of an Act obliging the Town of Portsmouth to lay out a highway to his farm, commonly called Common Fence Point. He married Ann Freeborn (1669–1729) and had a son Thomas, who was admitted a freeman of Portsmouth 6 May, 1729, and whose marriage to Sarah Briggs is recorded in the almanac under date of 15 June. To them was born on 20 March, 1729–30, a daughter Sarah, and on 2 May, 1737, Sarah (Briggs) Durfie died. Thomas Durfie, who died in 1729, had a brother Robert who married Mary, daughter of John and Mary (Gorton) Sanford. Mary (Sanford) Durfie was a first cousin of the writer of the entries. (The Durfie Chart in Austin, Ancestry of 33 Rhode Islanders; Portsmouth Records, i. 120, 121; Rhode Island Colonial Records, iv. 28, 67, 147, 219, 420.)

[2] Ruth Sanford was named after her father's sister Ruth (1706–1709).

[3] Richard Sanford married at Portsmouth 21 February, 1722–23, Elizabeth, daughter of John Coggeshall. He lived for some years at Dartmouth, and later removed to Chilmark. (Portsmouth Records, i. 217; Bristol County, Massachusetts, Deeds.)

[4] The identity of this Jashub Wing has not been proved, but he was doubtless the son of Daniel and Anna (Ewer) Wing of Sandwich, Massachusetts. He was born 30 January, 1674, and married in 1701–02 Anna, daughter of Ludovick Hoxie. Jashub Wing was admitted a freeman of Sandwich in 1700, and in the list of freemen in 1702 is found the name of Shearjashub Wing. The records of Sandwich give the death of the wife of Jashub Wing on 16 December, 1721, after which no trace of Jashub Wing is found in the records of that town. (See an article on the Hoxie family in the April, 1901 number of a genealogical magazine called The Owl, published by George Dikeman Wing of Kewaunee, Wisconsin; C. P. Wing, Wing Genealogy, p. 40; Genealogical Advertiser, iv. 13; W. H. Whitmore, in New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxxix. 192.)

APRIL

18 Turkeys set

26 Aiken[1] born

24 Benj[a] Hassard[2] & Hannah Nichols mar[d]

25 Stephen Austin[3] & Mary Fish married

MAY

the last and this month the Measels was much Spread abroad in the Governm[t]

JUNE

3[d] Jeremiah Lawtons twin daughters born

15[th] in y[e] Eve. Tho Durfie & Sarah Briggs[4] married

19[th] Thomas Shearman[5] and Sarah Sisson married

30 Deliverance Smith of Dartmouth died

JULY

3[d] Nathaniel Cotton[6] Bristol minister died

5[th] Ann Kay[7] sister to y[e] Collector died Sud[ly]

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[1] Amie Akin was the daughter of James Akin of Dartmouth and Amey (Fish) Akin of Portsmouth, who were married 31 October, 1728. (Portsmouth Records, i. 60.)

[2] In Austin's Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island under Hazard is found the birth on 2 November, 1702, of Benjamin, son of Thomas and Susanna Hazard; and under Nichols the marriage in 1707 of Jonathan of Newport to Elizabeth Lawton, and the birth of their daughter Hannah 21 September, 1709.

[3] Stephen Austin of North Kingstown and Mary Fish of Portsmouth. (Portsmouth Records, i. 72.)

[4] See previous note under date of 11 February.

[5] In the Portsmouth Records, i. 233, is found the above marriage, and also the marriage on 19 October, 1737, of "Thomas Shearman of Swansey (2[nd] marriage) and Mary Sanford of Portsmouth," who was a daughter of the writer.

[6] The Rev. Nathaniel Cotton, son of the Rev. Rowland Cotton of Sandwich and Elizabeth, daughter of Col. Nathaniel Saltonstall of Haverhill, was born 13 June, 1697. He graduated from Harvard in 1717, was settled at Bristol in 1721, and not long after married Grissel Sanford, daughter of —— Sylvester of Shelter Island, New York, and widow of William Sanford of Newport, a first cousin of the writer. (New England Historical and Genealogical Register, i. 165; Sibley, Harvard Graduates, iii. 326; Munro, History of Bristol, p. 220; Bristol Records, i. 16.)

[7] Ann Kay was the sister of Nathaniel Kay, who was appointed Collector of Her Majesty's Customs for Rhode Island at the accession of Queen Anne, and took up his residence and lived at Newport until his death in 1734. He was a public spirited citizen and a generous benefactor to Trinity Church, of which he was a member. (G. C. Mason, Reminiscences of Newport, p. 314,

JULY

31st Margaret [1] daughter of John Sanford died

AUGUST

1st John Taylors Son died, &

4th young Adam Lawtons first Son born [2]

4th Hezekiah Hoar [3] died

9 Wm Cooks Son Enoch [4] died

9 in the evening Peleg Socums [5] [?Slocum's] first child born

10 Abigail Smith died daughter of Deliverance

SEPTEMBER

1 my wife went to Groton & had a hard fit of sickness upon Return

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and Annals of Trinity Church, Newport; Rhode Island Colonial Records, iv. 246, 422.)

[1] Margaret Sanford, daughter of John and Ann (Weeden) Sanford, who were married 15 December, 1713, was born 15 July, 1727. John Sanford, the birth of whose son Peleg is noted under date of 1 September, was the nephew of William Sanford, the writer of the entries.

[2] Giles Lawton was the son of Adam Lawton, Jr., of Portsmouth and Martha Slocum of Newport, who were married 24 October, 1727. (Portsmouth Records, i. 110.)

[3] Hezekiah Hoar, the son of Hezekiah and Rebecca Hoar, was born 10 November, 1678. He was for many years a resident of Newport and married Sarah, daughter of Henry and Joan Brightman of Portsmouth, Newport, and Freetown. Hezekiah the father was for a short time in Scituate. In 1659 he was an inhabitant of Taunton, and in 1675 lived on Dean Street in that town, and his name appears in the list of purchasers of both the North Purchase and the South Purchase (1672). On 11 October, 1708, he signed a petition to the Governor and General Court as one of the inhabitants of the Taunton South Purchase to be set off into a separate town (Dighton). (Deane, History of Scituate, p. 285; S. H. Emery, History of Taunton, pp. 93, 119, 121, 130, 150; Emery, Ministry of Taunton, i. 61; Taunton Proprietors Records, iv. 232; Austin, Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island, p. 26.)

[4] Enoch Cook, born 25 July, 1726, was the son of William Cook and Susannah Briggs (daughter of Enoch and Hannah Briggs), who were married 9 April, 1724. William Cook was the son of Joseph and Susannah Cook. (Portsmouth Records, i. 92, 93.)

[5] Peleg Slocum's identity is not known with certainty, but he was perhaps the son of Giles Slocum, who was born at Newport in 1707 and married 14 November, 1728, Avis, daughter of Benjamin and Martha Stanton of Newport. (C. E. Slocum, History of the Slocum Family in America.)

SEPTEMBER
1 John Sanfords Son was born[1]
8th in the Evening William Burnet[2] Govr of the Massachusets Bay died
20 Anne Goddard died

OCTOBER
13 Joseph Card[3] died about 80 years

Mr. EDES also exhibited a copy of James Otis's Rudiments of Latin Prosody, printed at Boston in 1760 by Franklin's nephew, Benjamin Mecom.

Mr. FORD spoke, extemporaneously, at some length of the checkered career of Mecom and of his eccentricities, among which was the habit of setting type in white gloves. He quarrelled with his uncle, and gradually lost the art of good printing, degenerating to such a degree that his bad work lost him his customers, and he was compelled to petition the Philadelphia authorities for a license to sell liquor to gain a livelihood.

President KITTREDGE communicated from the Bourne Papers in the Harvard College Library some letters written from Boston and Cambridge in 1775, during the Siege of Boston, to Meletiah Bourne at Barnstable by his son, Sylvanus Bourne (H. C. 1779), his servant Cato, and Isaac Mansfield, Jr. (H. C. 1767). Mansfield gives an amusing account of the self-sufficiency of Caleb Gannett, long the College Steward, and compares it with the kindly bearing and courtesy of President Langdon.

The PRESIDENT asked for information concerning the word "martinet," — a word not to be found in Johnson's Diction-

[1] See previous note under date of 31 July.

[2] On 12 July, 1728, a public reception was given at Newport to Burnet, who passed through Rhode Island on his way from New York to Massachusetts.

[3] Joseph Card of Newport, born 1648, was the son of Richard Card, an early settler. He was a member of the Sandwich Baptist Church. (Austin, Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island, p. 270, and One Hundred and Sixty Allied Families, p. 56.)

ary. He remarked that in 1785 it was in the category of slang, and that in 1820 it had passed into good use.

EPHRAIM EMERTON, Ph.D., of Cambridge, was elected a Resident Member, and General JOSEPH WHEELER, U. S. A., of Alabama, a Corresponding Member.

NOTE ON WILLIAM SANFORD.

BY HENRY W. CUNNINGHAM.

John Sanford arrived in Boston in 1631, was there disarmed in 1637 as a supporter of Wheelwright, and in the following year went with Coddington, Hutchinson and others to Rhode Island, where he was one of the original proprietors. He held various offices, including that of President of the Colony in 1653, the year in which he died.[1] His first wife was Elizabeth, sister of Henry Webb of Boston. Henry Webb died in 1660, leaving legacies to his nephews, John and Samuel Sanford, and benefactions to Harvard College, the chief of which was his estate in the present Washington Street, Boston, now occupied by Little, Brown and Company, and still owned by the College.[2] John Sanford had two sons by his first wife, and after her death married Bridget, daughter of William and Anne Hutchinson, by whom he had nine children.

Samuel Sanford, second son of John, was born in Boston 21 June, 1635. He lived at Portsmouth, Rhode Island, where he married in October, 1662, Sarah, daughter of William Waddell, by whom he had six children, and there he died in 1712–13.

William Sanford, the writer of the entries in the almanac exhibited by Mr. Edes, was the fifth child of Samuel and Sarah (Waddell) Sanford, and was born at Portsmouth 21 May, 1676. In 1729, as well as for many years before and after, he was Town Clerk of Portsmouth, Rhode Island. He removed to Dartmouth, Massachusetts, after 1750, and from the Bristol County Deeds it would seem that he was a schoolmaster. He was a Quaker and notes the quarterly meeting at Portsmouth 11 April. As a Justice he solemnized several of the marriages of which he speaks, and nearly all the persons whose names he mentions were either his relatives or his neighbors.

William Sanford married at Portsmouth 26 January, 1699–1700, Hope, daughter of George and Sarah Sisson of that town, and had the following children: (i) Richard, born 17 March, 1700–01; (ii) Sarah, born 1702; (iii) Mary, born 1703, died 6 February, 1739, who married Thomas Shearman; (iv) Ruth, born 1706, died 1709; (v) Elizabeth, born 1707; (vi) William, born 1709; (vii) George, born 1711, died 1734; (viii) Joseph, born 1715.[3] In the first volume of the Portsmouth Records is found, under "earmarks" of cattle, the

[1] Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, iv. 14; Rhode Island Historical Magazine, vii. 293; Vital Records of Portsmouth, Rhode Island.

[2] New England Historical and Genealogical Register, x. 179.

[3] Portsmouth Records, i. 84, 85.

name of William Sanford as Town Clerk in 1718, 1721, 1722, 1726-28, 1731, 1734, 1736-39, 1741, 1742, 1747-49, 1750. The annual town election was held in June, and on 24 June, 1751, another man was Town Clerk. Shortly after this he must have removed to Dartmouth, for in the Bristol County Probate Records, xvii. 120, is found the will of William Sanford of Dartmouth, dated 11 February, 1752, and proved 4 November, 1760. In it he speaks of his daughters Sarah Smith and Elizabeth Smith, of his granddaughters Alice and Mary Shearman, children of his deceased daughter Mary, and of his sons Joseph, Richard, and William. He also mentions his real estate and his burying ground in Portsmouth.

MARCH MEETING, 1901.

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at No. 25 Beacon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 28 March, 1901, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the PRESIDENT in the chair.

After the minutes of the last meeting had been read and approved, the CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that letters had been received from Dr. EPHRAIM EMERTON accepting Resident Membership, and from General JOSEPH WHEELER accepting Corresponding Membership.

The PRESIDENT announced the death on the fifth of March of HENRY WILLIAMS, a Resident Member, and paid a tribute to his memory.

Mr. JOHN NOBLE, having been called upon, said:

Our oldest Resident Member, in point of years, has gone from us at the age of more than fourscore. Seldom failing in attendance, until his health gave way, on the eve of our last Annual Meeting, he has always been one of the most interested and devoted members of the Society. No one marking his erect and vigorous form, his strong personality, his alert and energetic mind, would have set him down as a graduate of over sixty years' standing and one of the few survivors of the Harvard Class of '37, two only of whom survive.

Mr. Williams's life was marked by no very striking events. He never held public office, though many private trusts and responsibilities were devolved upon him, as a man of business habits, exact and methodical ways, and of unswerving integrity. Kind, sympathetic and helpful, he was ever ready to do his part whenever duty or occasion called.

There were few dull lines in the features of his make-up. Independent, keen, aggressive, there was seldom a question as to where he stood on any issue. In his opinions he was always sure and decided, and vigorous in his way of expressing them. He

knew what he thought, and he stood by it. He was a warm and steadfast friend, where he gave his friendship; and in his dislikes he was no less determined and persistent.

Mr. Williams's life was spent mainly in teaching, and he was most generally and widely known as a teacher; — first, and for many years, as the head-master of one of the Grammar Schools of Boston, and later as the head of a successful and famous private school for girls. He was singularly fortunate, or rather it should be said, singularly and deservedly happy, in gaining and holding the love and respect of the long line of pupils that, through forty years or more, were under his charge, — a regard evidenced often and in many ways in their after life. A touching tribute to his memory was the bunch of lilies laid upon his coffin by some of the very earliest of his scholars, — the few surviving boys of sixty years ago.

The later years of Mr. Williams's life were quiet and were spent in leisure among his books and his friends. His habits and tastes were scholarly. He read much, and the best authors. Here too he had his intimates. Scott was an especial favorite; the Waverley Novels he knew almost by heart, and he had read the whole series ten or a dozen times, each new reading coming as a fresh delight. He had gathered from every available source what might illustrate the scenery, character, incident or history of Scott's works; and the author's life was almost as real and near to him as his own.

From the early days of this Society Mr. Williams was upon its Committee of Publication, and one of the most efficient and valuable members. His judgment was good, his perception sharp, his taste delicate, his view conservative. Bred under the training of Professor Channing, who set and sustained so long the standard for the English of Harvard, he was a discriminating and severe critic. A faithful and single-hearted lover of "English undefiled," it was rarely that an infelicity or obscurity or impropriety of word or phrase escaped his quick and delicate intelligence, while on the merits of any article, his estimate was usually sound and judicious. His services here were valuable and important, and his place will be hard to fill.

In every way a valued member of the Society, Mr. Williams had, by birth, a somewhat unusual claim to its fellowship. Of one

of the oldest families of Boston, coeval almost with the Colony, he was also a lineal descendant of two Colonial Governors, — Thomas Dudley and Simon Bradstreet; was connected with a third, by his descent from Lucy Winthrop; counted as another ancestor the Reverend John Cotton; and, through still another, was allied with the founder of Williams College. Knowing our associate as I have through a friendship of more than half a century his death comes to me as a personal grief.

Mr. LINDSAY SWIFT paid the following tribute to the memory of his venerable friend:

My acquaintance or, as I may truly say, my friendship with Mr. Williams does not run further back than ten or twelve years, when I used to see him occasionally at the Public Library, then in its old and cozier home on Boylston Street opposite the Common. After we had moved into our new palace on Copley Square, he did not come to see me so often, perhaps because of the infirmity of years. I have always fancied, however, that he was not comfortable in the changed surroundings, though he never expressed his feeling to me in the matter. It was always a pleasure to aid him in his quests for books, for he was not one of those vague people who merely are looking for "something to read." His object was always definite, and he usually brought a list of desiderata ready for his own and my convenience. Soon he would go away satisfied, and as I found out afterwards, through deeds and not words, very grateful for my slight attention. Gradually we came to know each other better, and then almost intimately; as we met, we would talk of books for which we had a mutual sympathy, or of public events, in his judgments of which he held lofty and exacting standards. Now and then I had the pleasure of dining at his quiet home in Concord Square. Those of you who knew Mr. Williams at his own table, will recall what an honest joy he took in making his guest happy in every way, yet even his choice taste in these matters could not give such pleasure as did his spirit of unaffected hospitality. He was indeed an ideal host. After dinner we would go to his "den" at the very top of the house, and then would follow an hour or so over his excellently-chosen cigars, and I would go away refreshed by the companionship of an

elderly man's wisdom, and by his keen, positive opinions. He was so unfeignedly glad to see me whenever it was possible for me to break through routine, and call on him, that I now make it a reproach to myself that I did not force these occasions far oftener, and enjoy more frequently the entire modesty and simplicity of that delightful home.

With the active beginning of the life of The Colonial Society it was my good fortune to see considerably more of our colleague. It has always seemed to me that Mr. Williams's membership stood for more with him than could easily be guessed. Such things are often a matter of course to men of affairs, but his connection with the Society was of importance in his eyes; his interest in its affairs was incessant; and it appeared to stimulate enthusiasm, usually so inert in mature life. Owing to his friendliness, I became acquainted with Mr. Edes, and with others of the Society, and ultimately had the honor of an election as a fellow-member. It was he who persuaded me to undertake the formidable task of indexing our first volume, and I may now confess to you that my reluctance gave way before his evident belief that I was providentially created for just this piece of work. There were hot disagreements over that index, but they were the differences of honest men, and if war raged it was certainly a civil one. How kind and loyal Mr. Williams was all this time, and how anxious to be just to all sides! This was the more notable, because in abstract questions he was an opinionated man. This matter would really be too unimportant to mention, had it not so fully revealed the staunchness and absolute sincerity of my valued friend. As Mr. Edes said to me on the day of the funeral services, the keynote of Mr. Williams's character was loyalty. Add to this quality his ingenuousness and you have the leading traits of his strong personality before you. At the least suggestion of possible injury coming to a friend whether by implication or by direct attack, he would leap to the front like a sword from its scabbard. He cared little for his own reputation in such an issue; but on the other hand, did he come to see that this very friend, whose cause he had espoused, was in any way at fault, he would unflinchingly try to set him right. His were the essential courage and directness of a man of nice traditions and firm training.

Our meetings being of necessity infrequent, I used to count

much on seeing Mr. Williams at the Cambridge Commencement. It was his habit to stay in Massachusetts Hall till the procession formed and then march with it — this was in his later years — until he reached the outer door of Memorial Hall. There he would patiently stand until all had passed in to the dinner — a loyal son of Harvard, as his careful service in the Secretaryship of the Class of 1837 fully attests. The pathos of Commencement Day, increasing each year, but sweeter and more tender for all that, will be deeper when we fail to see in the future our old friend in his expectant attitude at the entrance to that solemn vestibule dedicated to our immortals.

We shall fail to do justice to the memory of Mr. Williams if we neglect to speak at this time of his admirable fund of humor, — an integral part of his manliness, and an evidence, I fully believe, of the Divine essence in human character. It was so deep, as sometimes to be unconscious. With one instance I may fitly bring to an end these remarks. In a recent Commencement, I missed him from his usual place hard by the voting booths, but after a little delay he appeared and said that he had been lunching at a private house with the few surviving members of his Class who were able to be present. I inquired after the health of this venerable company, no one of whom could have been under eighty years of age. He was able to give a good account of them as a whole, but admitted that he was deeply concerned for the welfare of one classmate who had taken up the habit of smoking cigarettes. "And, Swift," said our friend, "if he does n't stop it, he won't live out half his days!" Such was the excellent wit of Henry Williams, and now that he is released from an old man's loneliness and pain, I like to speak of him naturally, as if he were still alive, enjoying life and meeting its joys and sorrows in his own sturdy, well-bred, and quaint fashion.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY announced that the Council had made the following assignments of Memoirs: — That of Samuel Johnson, originally assigned to the late Reverend Edward G. Porter, to President Tucker of Dartmouth College; that of Roger Wolcott to the Reverend Arthur Lawrence; and that of Henry Williams to President Kittredge.

Mr. HENRY H. EDES exhibited the gold medal given to Charles Bulfinch, in 1794, by the Proprietors of the first theatre built in Boston, from plans made by him, in recognition of his interest in the undertaking. The theatre stood on the north-westerly corner of Federal and Franklin Streets, now occupied by the Jones, McDuffie and Stratton Company. It was destroyed by fire on the afternoon of 2 February, 1798, and was rebuilt on new plans furnished by Mr. Bulfinch. The façade of this building was much plainer than that of the first building, which is shown, in high relief, on the medal.[1]

General CHARLES G. LORING remarked upon the beauty of the medal and mentioned a conversation he once had with Reginald Stuart Poole, of the British Museum, in which that gentleman inquired who made the design of one of the early silver dollars or half-dollars issued by the United States mint. Mr. Poole said that he regarded that piece as the most beautiful of modern coins.

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS read a paper on Yankee and Yankee Doodle.[2] Mr. WILLIAM WATSON GOODWIN, President KITTREDGE, and Dr. WILLIAM WATSON participated in the discussion which ensued.

EDWARD CHARLES PICKERING, LL.D., and Mr. ARTHUR RICHMOND MARSH, both of Cambridge, were elected Resident Members.

[1] The medal is described and engraved in the Memorial History of Boston, iv. 473; Mr. Bulfinch's portrait appears in *Ibid.* iv. 472; and a view of the theatre may be seen in *Ibid.* iv. 363. See also Ellen Susan Bulfinch's Life and Letters of Charles Bulfinch.

[2] This paper is reserved for publication at a future time.

APRIL MEETING, 1901.

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at No. 25 Beacon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 25 April, 1901, at three o'clock in the afternoon, President KITTREDGE in the chair.

The Records of the Stated Meeting in March were read and approved.

In anticipation of the Annual Meeting the PRESIDENT appointed the following Committees: —

To nominate candidates for the several offices, — The Honorable JEREMIAH SMITH, and Messrs. THOMAS MINNS and CHARLES A. SNOW.

To examine the Treasurer's Accounts, — Messrs. HENRY LEE HIGGINSON and SAMUEL WELLS.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that since the last meeting letters had been received from Professor EDWARD CHARLES PICKERING and Mr. ARTHUR RICHMOND MARSH accepting Resident Membership.

Mr. WORTHINGTON C. FORD communicated three unpublished letters[1] written from England by Catharine Macaulay, William Bollan, then the Agent of the Province in London, and Thomas Pownall, in acknowledgment of copies of the Short Narrative of the Horrid Massacre, prepared by order of the Town of Boston to be sent to its friends in England.[2]

The following is the text of these letters:

[1] The originals are owned by the Boston Public Library. These letters were printed by the Library in the Monthly Bulletin for July, 1901, vi. 270–273.

[2] With these letters compare the communication made by Mr. Matthews at the meeting in April, 1901, vii. 2–21.

I.

LONDON May 9th 1770

GENTLEMEN

I think my self much honored by the Town of Boston for the compliment of transmiting the Narrative relative to the massacre perpetrated by the military on the fifth of March

In condoling with you on that melancholy event your friends find a considerable alleviation in the opportunity it has given you of exhibiting a rare and admirable instance of patriotic resentment tempered with forbearance and the warmth of Courage with the coolness of Discretion

Believe me Gentlemen there is not a Bostonian the spectator of the bloody scene who feels more sensibly than my self the horrid transaction

Every service which is in my power to perform the Town of Boston may command and may depend upon a faithful and ardent exec[u]tion

I am Gentlemen
Your very obed
And very Humble Servt
CATHARINE MACAULAY

II.

FLUDYER STREET, WESTMr. May 11th. 1770

GENTLEMEN,

Your letter relating to the late military massacre at Boston, which I had the honour to receive by express, was accompanied with such ample proofs, considered in point of number, matter, candour, propriety & fairness of caption, that I flatter myself they will in time prevail, and establish the truth in the minds of all honest men, maugre all the attempts made with art & sollicitude to represent the inhabitants as the aggressors. I had some hopes of getting the authentic copies laid before the house of comons for consideration in this session, with the other papers laid before them; but they are vanish'd and the parliament will rise in a short time.

From what was openly said not long since, I understood the troops wou'd be removed; but the times abound with uncertainty as well as difficulty.

I have the honour to be with great respect, and the sincerest wishes for the welfare of the town,

Gentlemen,
Your most obedient
humble servant
W. BOLLAN

P. S.
Capt^n^. Gard'ner staid here, by my
direction, til this day, in order to
promote the public service by his examination in the house of commons, or otherwise, as occasion shou'd require
W BOLLAN

JA^s^. BOWDOIN Esq^r^. & others a Com^ttee^. of the town of Boston

III.

LONDON
ALBEMARLE STREET
May 11, 1770.

GENTLEMEN

I duely rec'^d^ by Cap't Gardiner y^r^ letter dated March 23^:d^ 1770, written & address'd to me in Consequence of an Appointment of y^e^. Town of Boston. —

I did not want the bloody proofs w^ch^ y^e^ Narrative you have communicated to me gives, of the danger & destructive consequences that must necessarily arise from a Military establishment posted within the heart of a Civil Jurisdiction, under such Arrangements of Command as were attempted to be fix'd in time of Peace within y^e^ Colonies.

I had only wonder'd that some thing of this Sort had not happen'd sooner, & am now only happy that y^e^ mischief has not gone further — I hope it is not only at an end but that Like some of those Momentary Shocks of Nature w^:ch^ endanger y^e^ very being of the Region where they happen, while in the Convulsion — it may purge away this Mischief that was y^e^ Component Cause of that Danger.

It is a Common thing with Bodies of Men as well as Individuals standing towards each other in a State of Irreconcilable variance to Apprehend from each other mischiefs w^:ch^ neither are Capable of Effecting to Impute to each other Evil designs w^:ch^ neither ever harbour'd — This state of Mind leads them by way of Prejudgment, Exculpation & Recrimination into representations w^:ch^ take their Colour rather from imagin'd than existing Facts — But as on Occa-

sion of the late shocking events at Boston, there has been I hope, less of this than on former occasions, so I do not find People here so much dispos'd to enquire who were the Aggressors, What were the Occasions, what the Mutual provocations in the late Affray, What y^e^ state of this particular Eruptions, as attentive to learn what is y^e^ State & Cause of y^e^ Fever in general w^:ch^ they see brought to this height of Malignancy — & what may be the Remedy.

I had long ago given notice, without being much attended to, that I wou'd lay before Parliament what I thought to be y^e^ unconstitutional state of y^e^ Military establishment in America. I took advantage from y^e^ impressions made on Mens Minds by y^e^ late Events to bring forward y^e^ Consideration at this Time. by Moving that an Humble Address be presented to his Majesty, stating the Necessity of *some Remedy* in this Case, & praying that he wou'd be pleas'd to give directions w^:h^ the Advice of his privy Council, that these Matters might be revis'd & examin'd into, to the End that they may be explain'd, corrected & Amended, where they interfer'd or Clash'd w^:h^ each other, or contain'd any Matters contrary to Law & the Constitution.

The Ministry mov'd the Question of Adjournment upon my Motion, but Allowing that the Ground w^:ch^ I had taken of Doubts in point of Law & the Constitution, of Confusion in the Execution & of Danger, in the Consequences not only to the Political Liberty of the Community, but to the Franchises of the People was good & sufficent, & *did call for some remedy* in the Case, & having declar'd that His Majesty had given Directions to have the Question of Law laid before the Crown Lawyers, & the Matter to be revis'd & Amended upon that Foundation that shou'd appear to be right & legal; & that in General every thing that the Address did or cou'd desire wou'd be done in Consequence thereof. Upon this our friends, tho' they did not think fit to withdraw the Motion for the Address, yet did not think proper to divide, as considering it best to hold the Ministers pledg'd by their Declaration & our Acquiescence under it. — & I own I think, as do many of your Friends here, w^th^ whom I have communicated upon this Occasion, that it wou'd be wise in you in *Point of Policy* to give Credit to this Declaration, & to suspend all Opposition on this Point as Considering the Ministry having pledg'd themselves to rectifye it according to Law & the Constitution; especially as you are now free from all Danger of any evil Consequence arising from it, as the Ministry have declared that as the Troops are now withdrawn, so they shall never be sent back untill the Civil Magistrate, shall call for & employ their Aid in Support of the Civil Government w^:ch^ I shou'd

guess is never likely to happen. As I have said before that there was no Disposition Amongst people here to enquire into the particular Actions & transaction in the late Catastrophe at Boston So you will find that no Notice has been taken either by Ministry or Opposition of any of the Events w^ch^ have arisen on this Occasion, otherwise than to look to the Cause in General & the remedy — Yet one Observation I think it just to make to you, that One Sentiment has unanimously arisen in the Minds of all express'd in a wish & Hope from all Quarters that no Prejudice, Resentment, or party Consideration whatsoever may Operate in the unhappy Case of Cap^t^ Preston & the Soldiers, but on the Contrary it wou'd do more Honor to the Spirit & Temper of your People to shew Mercy than to exact Severe Justice.

I beg you to mark my respects to y^e^ Town & to assure them of my readiness in all cases & upon all occasions to engage in their service

I beg you Gentlemen to accept my particular respects —

I am Gentlemen
Y^r^ most Obed
& most humbly
T POWNALL

To the Hon^le^ JAMES BOWDOIN Esq^r^
To SAM^L^ PEMBERTON
JOSEPH WARREN Esq^rs^
Committee of y^e^ Town of Boston.

Mr. FORD also communicated, by title, a Bibliography of the Massachusetts House Journals from 1715 to 1776, illustrated by photographs of title-pages and of the Royal Arms.[1]

Mr. ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS remarked upon the great value of Mr. Ford's bibliographical contribution to the Society's Publications.

Mr. HENRY H. EDES stated that no perfect set of the House Journals is to be found in any one library or in any one State, and that the Journal of at least one Session — that of March, 1721–22 — is to be found only in the unique copy owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[1] This Bibliography will be printed in volume iv. of the Publications of the Society.

Mr. HENRY W. CUNNINGHAM communicated two unpublished letters, one written by Joshua Bates, the benefactor of the Boston Public Library, the other written by President Jared Sparks in which reference is made to one of the Honorary Members of this Society, then a recent graduate of Harvard.

I.

LONDON, 1 Oct° 1850.
My 60th birth day.[1]

Wm ROPES Esq
BOSTON

MY DEAR SIR

I am very much obliged for your suggestion, contained in your valued letter of the 17th Ult° and have authorised the Petersburg House to draw £250. for the investment for Mr Sturgis [2] to be kept moving under your controul, for his benefit and hope it may be instrumental in adding to his happiness. I am very glad to learn of the success that has attended your exertions. No one merits it more than yourself. I work about as hard as ever and feel that I should be very miserable without the excitement. Mrs. Bates has not been very well this year but I do not feel any symptoms of age altho' I can remember things that happened "a long time ago."

Ever truly yours
JOSHUA BATES.

[*Addressed*]
private [*Filed*]
WM. ROPES Esq
Boston.
U. S. A.

Recd per *Asia*, Octo. 24, Thursday

II.

CAMBRIDGE, July 20th 1850.

MY DEAR SIR,

Allow me to introduce to your acquaintance Mr. James C. Carter, a graduate of our University at the recent Commencement. Mr. Carter is engaged for a time as a teacher in a private family in New

[1] This is a curious instance of a mistake in regard to one's own age. The Town Clerk of Weymouth, Massachusetts, certifies that Joshua, the son of Joshua and Tirzah Bates, was born 10 October, 1788. Hence Mr. Bates, when he wrote the above letter, was not sixty but sixty-two.

[2] Mr. John Sturgis, a younger brother of Mrs. Joshua Bates, was a bookkeeper in the Boston house of William Ropes and Company.

York, & he proposes afterwards to qualify himself for the profession of the Law. As a scholar he has ranked among the very first in his class, and throughout his college course he has sustained a character which has won the respect, esteem, & confidence of all his instructors. He may want the use of books, & I trust it may be in your power to procure for him such a privilege from some of the Libraries in the city. Permit me to commend him to your kindness; and believe me, as ever,

most truly your friend,

JARED SPARKS.

JOSEPH G. COGSWELL, LL.D.[1]

[*Superscribed*]

Care of JOHN A. HAVEN, Esq.[2] New York.

Mr. DENISON R. SLADE exhibited a rare mezzotint of Vice-Admiral Edward Vernon, for whom Mount Vernon was named. He also exhibited a Receipt-Book of Richard Clarke, the father-in-law of Copley, which contains the autographs of many prominent Bostonians between 1760 and 1770.

Mr. HENRY H. EDES communicated and read a letter describing an excursion on the Middlesex Canal in the summer of 1817. Mr. Edes spoke as follows:

Two or three years ago, I had the pleasure of hearing read a most interesting letter of which I have recently procured a copy that I might communicate it to the Society and thus secure its preservation in print. The letter describes an all-day excursion on the Middlesex Canal in the summer of 1817. The party consisted of a large gathering of what was best in the society of the old town of Boston. The Winthrops, Quincys, Amorys, Sullivans, Grays, Masons, Tudors, Eliots, Mays, Buckminsters, Cabots, Emersons, and Jacksons were all represented; and Daniel Web-

[1] Joseph Green Cogswell (H. C. 1806) was Tutor in 1814–15, Librarian in 1821–23, and Professor of Mineralogy and Geology in 1821–23.

[2] John Appleton Haven (H. C. 1813) was the son of John Haven of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and Sarah Sherburne Langdon, granddaughter of the Hon. Woodbury Langdon of Portsmouth; and the grandson of the Rev. Samuel Haven (H. C. 1740) of Portsmouth and Mehitable Appleton, daughter of the Rev. Nathaniel Appleton (H. C. 1712) of Cambridge. Mr. Carter was a tutor in Mr. Haven's family.

ster and his wife were also of the party. Mr. Webster was then but thirty-five years of age and had been in Congress only three or four years.[1] He had removed his residence to Boston in August of the preceding year; and in the following year (1818) he was to establish his fame at the Bar by his argument in the great Dartmouth College Case before the Supreme Court of the United States. It is interesting to learn, as we do from this letter, the impression made by Webster upon an educated and cultivated woman on a purely social occasion before he had entered upon his great career in the Senate of the United States, which did not begin till ten years later — in 1827.

The letter was written by Miss Fanny Searle[2] of Brookline, one of the children of Mr. George Searle.[3] It is addressed to her sister Margaret,[4] the wife of Samuel Curzon,[5] who with her hus-

[1] Stuart's unfinished portrait of Webster, painted at this time, is now owned by Mr. Henry Parkman of Boston, who has kindly permitted it to be engraved to accompany this communication.

[2] Miss Searle was born in Amesbury or Newbury, Massachusetts, 11 August, 1783, and died in Brookline 3 May, 1851.

[3] Mr. Searle was born 21 May, 1751, and died in Philadelphia, 10 January, 1796. He married, 21 March, 1779, Mary Russell Atkins, daughter of Dudley Atkins of Newburyport, Massachusetts. See Francis Higginson Atkins's Joseph Atkins, The Story of a Family (1891), folding pedigree between pp. 72, 73. This volume also contains other folding pedigrees showing the connection of the Eliot, Searle, Tyng, and Higginson families.

[4] Margaret (Searle) Curzon was born in Newbury 23 January, 1787, and died in Newburyport 28 June, 1877.

[5] Samuel Curzon was born in Baltimore 2 February, 1781. He was the son of Samuel Curzon and his wife Elizabeth Burling, daughter of Thomas Burling of New York. As the marriage was contracted according to the form of the Society of Friends, Mrs. Curzon's brother, Walter Burling, denied its validity and, on his return to New York, challenged Mr. Curzon, and killed him in a duel fought 24 April, 1786, in the rear of the New York Hospital in the lower part of New York.[1] The young widow married (2) Richard Whittell of London. The child was reared under the name of Burling, and in 1786, immediately after his father's death, was brought to Boston by Mr. James Perkins,[2]

[1] The Hospital occupied a large lot, originally comprising five acres, on the west side of Broadway between Duane Street and Worth Street (James William Beekman's Centenary Address delivered before The Society of the New York Hospital, 1871, p. 34). "The region behind the Hospital was so secluded, that it was chosen as the place for a duel in 1786" (The Old New York Hospital, An Historical Sketch, by D. B. St. John Roosa, New York, 1900, p. 7).

[2] James Perkins was born in Boston 30 March, 1761, and died at his country seat, Pine Bank, on the shore of Jamaica Pond, 1 August, 1822. He was brother of Col. Thomas

Danl. Webster

Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
from the original by Stuart in the possession of
Henry Parkman, Esquire

band and family was then on her way to Havana, where for a time they resided. It was in Mr. Curzon's house that Professor Joseph McKean died, the following year, while on a visit to Cuba in the hope of regaining his health.[1] Miss Searle was a governess in the family of Richard Sullivan of Brookline, and had for her charge the young daughters of the house.

Governor Sullivan was the projector of the Middlesex Canal,[2]

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who had been associated in the West India trade with Walter Burling, and placed in his mother's family, in which he was tenderly nurtured. Col. Joseph May, also, had great interest in the child and brought him up as his own. On the twenty-fourth of June, 1816, young Curzon, — as he was known in and after the summer of 1808, — was married in King's Chapel to Margaret Searle. Later, they visited his Burling kinsfolk in their home in or near Natchez, Mississippi. In 1817, as stated in the text, Mr. Curzon went to Havana, and on his return made his home at Curzon's Mill, now within the limits of the city of Newburyport, Massachusetts; but between 1830 and 1840 he resided partly in New York City. He died in Somerville, Massachusetts, 12 January, 1847. His father, Samuel Curzon, Senior, a New York merchant, born 21 September, 1753, was the eldest son of Richard Curzon, Senior, of London, England, and Baltimore, Maryland. The family name was formerly in America spelled Curson.

[1] See these Publications, vi. 152.

[2] For an account of this enterprise, see Caleb Eddy's Historical Sketch of the Middlesex Canal (1843); Amory's Life of James Sullivan (1859), i. 293, 362–373, ii. 105, 106; and the Medford Historical Register, i. 33–51, 137, vii. 1–19. There is a valuable Plan of the Canal in the Engineer's office of the Boston and Maine Railroad Company and another in the Massachusetts Archives, Maps and Plans, lii. 2. I am much indebted to Mr. Moses Whitcher Mann, of West Medford, whose profound knowledge of the history and topography of the Canal enabled him to identify all the localities mentioned in the text.

Handasyd Perkins and Samuel Perkins who, to distinguish himself from another, changed his name to Samuel G Perkins, — the "G" being a letter only and not an initial. These brothers long held high rank among the merchants of Boston. They were sons of James and Elizabeth (Peck) Perkins, their father having died during their childhood. Mrs. Perkins's house, whither young Curzon was brought, in 1786, stood in Merchants Row, on the easterly side, about midway between State Street and Chatham Street. The estate is nearly identical with that now numbered 9 and 11. In 1751, when Gillam Phillips conveyed this property to Thomas Handasyd Peck, the father of Elizabeth (Peck) Perkins, it had a frontage of forty feet on Merchants Row and of twenty-three and a half feet on Butler's Row (which then extended through to Merchants Row), of which it made the southwesterly corner. In 1822 James Perkins gave his house in Pearl Street to the Proprietors of the Boston Athenæum for a library building, and it was occupied as such until the erection of the present building in Beacon Street. (Suffolk Deeds, lxxx. 132, cclxxiv. 265, cccv. 252; Suffolk Probate Files, No. 16,305; A Genealogical History of the Descendants of Joseph Peck, Boston, 1868, Appendix, pp. 267-277; and Memoir of James Perkins in 1 Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, i. 353–368.)

and for many years was President of the corporation, which two if not three of his sons served in other official capacities.

Mr. Josiah P. Quincy having expressed a wish to read this letter, I sent him a copy of it. When he returned it, he sent me a long extract from the Diary of his aunt, the late Miss Eliza Susan Quincy, describing this canal party, of which she herself was one. Her account of the day's frolic corresponds so perfectly with Miss Searle's as to leave no doubt of the accuracy of the descriptions. As Mr. Quincy was so kind as to give me permission to use the extract, I will read it as a supplement to Miss Searle's letter.

MISS FANNY SEARLE TO MRS. MARGARET CURZON.

BROOKLINE, July 20th [1817].

It requires some courage to write to you, dear Peggy, with that horrid Gulf stream present to one's imagination, and not knowing whether it has swallowed you up or not. We were glad at last to get your last Natchez letters, though we have as yet only the first and last, and there is still much to be supplied. We learn from Knight[1] that you were to embark for Havana the 2nd of June, but had not reached there the 16th, and this passage must, I think, have been very trying, and these thoughts so press upon me when I think of writing you that I have not spirits to take the pen, or if I do, as you see, give way to them to no purpose, for I cannot give coolness to your atmosphere or speed to your vessel, and it seems doubly foolish when what we think of as present is so long past. Well, then, let me forget you and talk of myself and those about me, and that may give you pleasure.

Since I last wrote you (though I do not recollect the date), I believe many pleasant things have happened, to me particularly, and of these the most prominent is a day passed on the Canal and the shores of it last week; there was such variety in the amusements of the day, and they were of so choice a kind that I felt no fatigue from 9 in the morning 'till 10 at night, for I was so long time absent from home, and the only alloy to enjoyment was the regret that some of the friends I wanted were not there. It was at first intended to be only a party for

[1] George Knight was a young merchant who was associated in business with Mr. Samuel Curzon while he was in Havana, and was constantly passing between that place and Boston and New York. He married Miss Mary Price of Natchez, Mississippi, where, for a time, Mr. Curzon resided.

children and their parents, — Mrs. Quincy,[1] Mrs. Amory,[2] and the Mrs-s Sullivans,[3] but there were many others afterwards added and Mrs. [Richard] Sullivan asked us all to be of the party. Mrs. S. had before proposed to me to go as one of her family, which I very readily agreed to. George[4] thought he could not afford the whole day, and the day was too hot for him to ride up and meet us at Woburn, as he thought he should, or for either of the girls to go with him, which would have decided him to. I was truly grieved for it was just the party he would have enjoyed.

We entered the boat in Charlestown and set off at ½ past nine; the water gave coolness to the air and the boat[5] being covered, gave shelter from the sun, and the party was too large to have any stiffness; indeed, there was the utmost ease and good humor without sadness through the day. The shores of the Canal for most of the distance are beautiful. We proceeded at the rate of 3 miles an hour, drawn by 2 horses, to the most romantic spot[6] (about 9 miles from Boston) that I ever beheld; you have not, I believe, seen, though I dare say you have had a description of, this spot. Mr. J. L. Sullivan[7] has erected a little building[8] on the banks of a lake most beautifully surrounded by woods and occasional openings into a fertile country. The lake[9] is about twice the size

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[1] Eliza-Susan, daughter of John Morton, married Josiah Quincy (H. C. 1790), afterward President of Harvard College.

[2] Mehitable, daughter of Gov. James Sullivan, married (1) James Cutler and (2) Jonathan Amory (H. C. 1787).

[3] These ladies were, Sarah-Webb, daughter of Col. James Swan, who married William Sullivan (H. C. 1792); Sarah, daughter of the Hon. Thomas Russell, who married Richard Sullivan (H. C. 1798); and Sarah-Bowdoin, daughter of the Hon. Thomas Lindall Winthrop, who married George Sullivan (H. C. 1801), — sons of Gov. James Sullivan.

[4] George Searle (1788–1858), brother of the writer of the letter. He married (1) Susan Cleveland Perkins, daughter of Samuel G Perkins, and niece and namesake of Susan Cleveland Higginson, who married Francis Dana Channing. See below, p. 225 *note* 6. Mr. Searle married (2) Susan-Coffin, widow of Stephen Hooper and daughter of Joseph Marquand, all of Newburyport.

[5] There was a "passenger-packet" named the "Governor Sullivan" which, probably, was the boat used by this party. See Amory's Life of James Sullivan, ii. 105, 106; and the Medford Historical Register, i. 44, 45.

[6] Horn Pond. *Cf.* below, p. 227 and *note* 2.

[7] John Langdon Sullivan, M.D., civil engineer, inventor, and physician, another son of the Governor, was agent of the Middlesex Canal Company.

[8] This building was known as the Pavilion and stood between the Canal and the Pond.

[9] Horn Pond.

of Jamaica Pond or larger, and has a small wood-covered island in the centre. On this Island a band of music was placed which began playing as soon as we landed. It seemed a scene of enchantment. Cousin Kate[1] who was by my side seemed too much affected to speak. Kate happened to be at Mrs. Quincy's on a visit of a week and went as one of her family. Olivia Buckminster[2] was with us, her sisters declined. I was truly sorry not to have Eliza[3] there. We had Mr. Webster,[4] Savage,[5] Callender,[6] Tudor,[7] H. Gray,[8] P. Mason,[9] Russell Sullivan[10] and two of his College friends, — Emerson[11] and Sam' May,[12] with whom I was very much pleased. Besides the Mr. Sullivans, [were] Mr. Quincy[13] and Mr. Amory,[14] making in all a pretty large number. Having so many *wits* of the party, there was no lack of *bon mots*. The gentlemen played off upon each other, to our no small amusement, most of the time. When their spirits flagged at all we had the resource of music. Five instruments, horns, flutes and a violin were extremely well performed on at intervals thro' the day, and at times we had vocal music from Mrs.

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[1] Catharine Eliot, daughter of Samuel Eliot, married Professor Andrews Norton.

[2] Olivia Buckminster was half-sister of the Rev. Joseph Stevens Buckminster. She subsequently married George Barrell Emerson (H. C. 1817), who was also present on this excursion. Her sister of the full blood, Mary Lyman Buckminster, married the Rev. Samuel Kirkland Lothrop.

[3] Eliza Buckminster, afterward the wife of Thomas Lee (H. C. 1798) of Brookline, became a well known authoress. She and her elder sister Lucy Maria, the first wife of Prof. John Farrar (H. C. 1803), were sisters of the full blood of the Rev. Joseph Stevens Buckminster with whom they lived, in Boston, after his settlement, in 1805, over the Church in Brattle Square.

[4] Daniel Webster.

[5] James Savage (H. C. 1803), long the President of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

[6] John Callender (H. C. 1790), Clerk of the Supreme Judicial Court. See Loring's Hundred Boston Orators, pp. 257, 258.

[7] William Tudor (H. C. 1796), the founder and first editor of the North American Review, and a founder of the Boston Athenæum.

[8] Horace Gray (H. C. 1819).

[9] William Powell Mason (H. C. 1811), law-partner of the Hon. William Sullivan, and later Reporter of the United States Circuit Court.

[10] Rev. Thomas Russell Sullivan (H. C. 1817), son of Dr. John Langdon Sullivan, was settled (1825–1835) over the Unitarian Church at Keene, N. H.

[11] George Barrell Emerson (H. C. 1817).

[12] Rev. Samuel Joseph May (H. C. 1817). He was a son of Col. Joseph May, for more than thirty years a Warden of King's Chapel.

[13] Josiah Quincy (H. C. 1790).

[14] Jonathan Amory (H. C. 1787).

Quincy, Mr. Callender and Mrs. W. Sullivan, and occasionally Mr. Webster and young May, who discovered, I thought, true, modest assurance with very good sense. Do you know him?

The ascent of the Canal was altogether new to me and very interesting; we passed 3 or 4 locks, and it was all the pleasanter for having so many children to whom it was likewise a novelty. After we landed and had ranged about a little, the children danced on the green under a tent or awning and we had seats round them. I never saw more pretty or happy faces than the little group presented. After two or three hours passed in looking about us and admiring the various beauties of the place, we entered the building I spoke of in which was prepared an excellent cold dinner, which we were quite hungry enough to relish. Two long tables accommodated the young and old, and there was just room for benches on each side. This was the only time I felt the heat, which was greater on that day (the 18th July), than it has been any other this season. We ladies were therefore glad to leave the gentlemen very soon and dispersed where best it pleased us for an hour. We again collected and re-entered the boat; tables were placed the whole length of it on which were arranged fruit, wine, ice and glasses, and we had very good room on each side of them. Mr. Sullivan made this arrangement thinking it would delay us too long, if we had the desert in the pavilion, for Mrs. Quincy, who had so great a distance to go; however, it seemed to be the general opinion we had set out too soon, therefore we landed again at another delightful spot[1] about 2 miles farther down, where we stopped an hour. It was a fine grove, sloping down to another large pond,[2] beyond which was seen in the distance the little village and spire of Menotomy,[3]—a pretty termination of the view. This was as pleasant an hour as any in the day, and here it was [that] I was particularly struck with May. We were standing on the edge of the pond and observed some pond lilies a little distance in the water, too far to be reached however without going into the water. Some lady expressed a wish to have one. "Is there no gentleman spirited enough to come forward and get them?" said Mr. Webster, "is no one gallant enough! — strange! 't is very strange!" May stood it so far and then darted forward urged on by Mr. W., who said he was glad the days of chivalry were not over, — "very glad to see you have so much courage,

[1] In later years known as Bacon's Grove, near the present Wedgemere station on the old Boston and Lowell Railroad. Near this grove, in 1819, was a mill owned by John Langdon Sullivan.

[2] Upper Mystic Pond.

[3] West Cambridge, now Arlington.

Mr. May." "It would have required more courage not to have done it after the challenge I received," said May; "I claim no merit, Sir." "A little farther, Sir," said Mr. Webster, "there is another on your right; one on the other side," &c. May went on till he was up to his middle, and I besought Mr. W. not to urge him farther. "Oh," said he, "it does not hurt a young man to wet his feet; I would have gone myself if it were not for the ladies." May presently came back with his hands full of flowers, which he gave to Mr. Webster, and from him the ladies near received each one. Mr. S[ullivan] came up just then and asked May what had induced him to it. "Mr. Webster's eloquence, Sir," said he. "It never procured me a lily before," said the Orator. "Though it has many laurels," replied May. Mr. W. bowed, and thus ended this little affair, which I thought your interest in the Col.[1] might lead you to listen to with pleasure.

I have not done justice to Mr. Webster's words and his look and manner, [which] if you have not seen, no words of mine can paint to you. It always delights me to see him, and I never was so much charmed as this day. To all [the] wit and power of mind of all the other gentlemen he super-adds a tenderness and unaffected feeling that is seldom seen in his sex and especially at his time of life and in his pursuits. I only wish I could see as much of him as Eliza Buckminster[2] does and feel, as she does, that he is her friend. I have the pleasure of his recognizing me whenever I meet him and generally have a little of his conversation. This is quite a digression from my story. Well, we entered the boat again and gently pursued our course a few miles farther when we again stopped near a house[3] where coffee had been prepared for us; we did not, however, enter the house, but the coffee and necessary apparatus were deposited in the boat. The children then had another cotillion while the boat was descending one of the locks, which was not so pleasant as the ascent. We then walked a short distance on the shore, got into the boat again, took coffee, listened again to sweet strains, and saw the sun descend and the moon rise in a sky beautifully bedecked by light clouds, and reached our place of debarkation[4] just after the last tints of daylight had faded.

I had Kate [Eliot] by my side the best part of the time and we ac-

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[1] Col. Joseph May, the young man's father. See above, p. 219 *note*.

[2] See above, p. 222 *note* 3.

[3] This was the tavern of the Medford River lock, which stood on the northerly corner of Boston Avenue and Arlington Street, West Medford.

[4] On the shore of the Mill Pond in Charlestown, near the present Sullivan Square, which was named in honor of Governor Sullivan.

corded in a retrospect of the day as one of the pleasantest we had ever past. We had nothing to do but enjoy the beauty and loveliness, the wit and harmony around us, and, as Olivia B[uckminster] said, not having to talk ourselves was one of our greatest advantages. Mrs. S[ullivan] and myself were much pleased with Mr. May, — with his attentive and pleasant manners, — polite without being obtrusive. I was not pleased with Mr. Tudor, who thinks, evidently, rather more of himself than I should be disposed to think of him. Mr. Callender was vastly amusing; sometimes it tired me a little. Mr. W[illiam] S[ullivan] very comic and entertaining. My friend Richard,[1] delightful as ever by his attentive manners and animated, happy face, though he said little. I fear, however, I may tire you of the party though I was not myself tired, and feel certain you would have felt as much pleasure as I, had you been there; the sight of so many fine children and the parents' delighted countenances would alone have been enough for you.

I have passed many pleasant hours with the Buckminsters of late; have seen Eliza Cabot[2] twice; once at her own house and once here. She passed a day with us while H. Jackson[3] was passing the week and I enjoyed it very much. Every time I see Eliza, I am struck with the justness as well as promptness of her thoughts; she will not I suspect go to Havana, nor will you so much want her or any of your friends from here now that you have other friends with you. I feel half glad and half sorry for this. Shall we hear as much from you in the future?[4] Shall you come back as soon? Yet you have present comfort, and for that I will be thankful, but is it so? Can you support the heat and sickly season?

Yesterday I spent the day at Mr. Higginson's[5] with Susan[6] and the children. Susan seems well and happy; there were other people there

[1] Richard Sullivan (H. C. 1798), fourth son of Gov. Sullivan.

[2] Elizabeth Lee Cabot, daughter of Samuel Cabot (1759–1819) of Boston, who subsequently married Dr. Charles Theodore Christian Follen.

[3] Harriet Jackson, a daughter of the Hon. Jonathan Jackson (H. C. 1761) and sister of Mary Jackson, who married Henry Lee (1782–1867), brother of Thomas Lee (H. C. 1798).

[4] Mrs. Curzon had been married only the year before.

[5] Stephen Higginson (1743–1828), the author of the Letters of Laco.

[6] Susan Cleveland (Higginson) Channing, a daughter of Stephen Higginson and widow of Francis Dana Channing (H. C. 1794). The Rev. William Henry Channing (H. C. 1829) was their son. The young widow and her three children made their home with Mr. Higginson and his then wife. See Materials for a Genealogy of the Higginson Family in Historical Collections of the Essex Institute, v. 33–42.

and I had not much conversation with her. It was very kind in the old lady to send for me. The Cremer Case [1] which was to have been decided last week, is again postponed till the fall, at the desire of the Higginsons party, who wish to get more evidence. Mrs. Perkins [2] has been the last week at Nahant with Elizabeth; [3] I do not know if they have returned.

My eyes plead to be released and the rest of my talk must be deferred till another time. Adieu. May you be preserved by a kind Providence, prays your

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We are all well.

[*Addressed*]

Mrs. MARGARET CURZON
c/o Mivella & Co.
Havana.

EXTRACT FROM THE JOURNAL OF MISS ELIZA SUSAN QUINCY.[4]

QUINCY. 1817, July 18th. Friday.

Set off early. My mother, Catharine,[5] Abby[6] and myself in the carriage, my father, Margaret[7] and Sophia[8] in his gig. We drove to a place in Charlestown on the Middlesex Canal. We found a

[1] The Cremer Case was "an action of assumpsit, brought by the plaintiff as surviving partner of Thomas Theodore Cremer of Rotterdam, who had carried on business there under the firm of Thomas and Adrian Cremer, against Stephen Higginson and Samuel G Perkins, surviving partners of George Higginson of Boston under the firm of Stephen Higginson and Co., upon a letter of guaranty" for $50,000, dated 15 December, 1808. The suit was brought in the Circuit Court of the United States for the District of Massachusetts, and was tried before Mr. Justice Story and the Hon. John Davis, District Judge, by eminent counsel, — George Blake, United States District Attorney, and Daniel Webster, for the plaintiff, and Samuel Hubbard and William Prescott for the defendants. The case was decided in favor of the defendants at the October term, 1817 (Mason's Reports, i. 323; and Federal Cases, vi. 797, Case No. 3383).

[2] Barbara-Cooper Higginson, daughter of Stephen Higginson (1743–1828), married Samuel G Perkins of Boston.

[3] Elizabeth Peck Perkins, daughter of Samuel G Perkins.

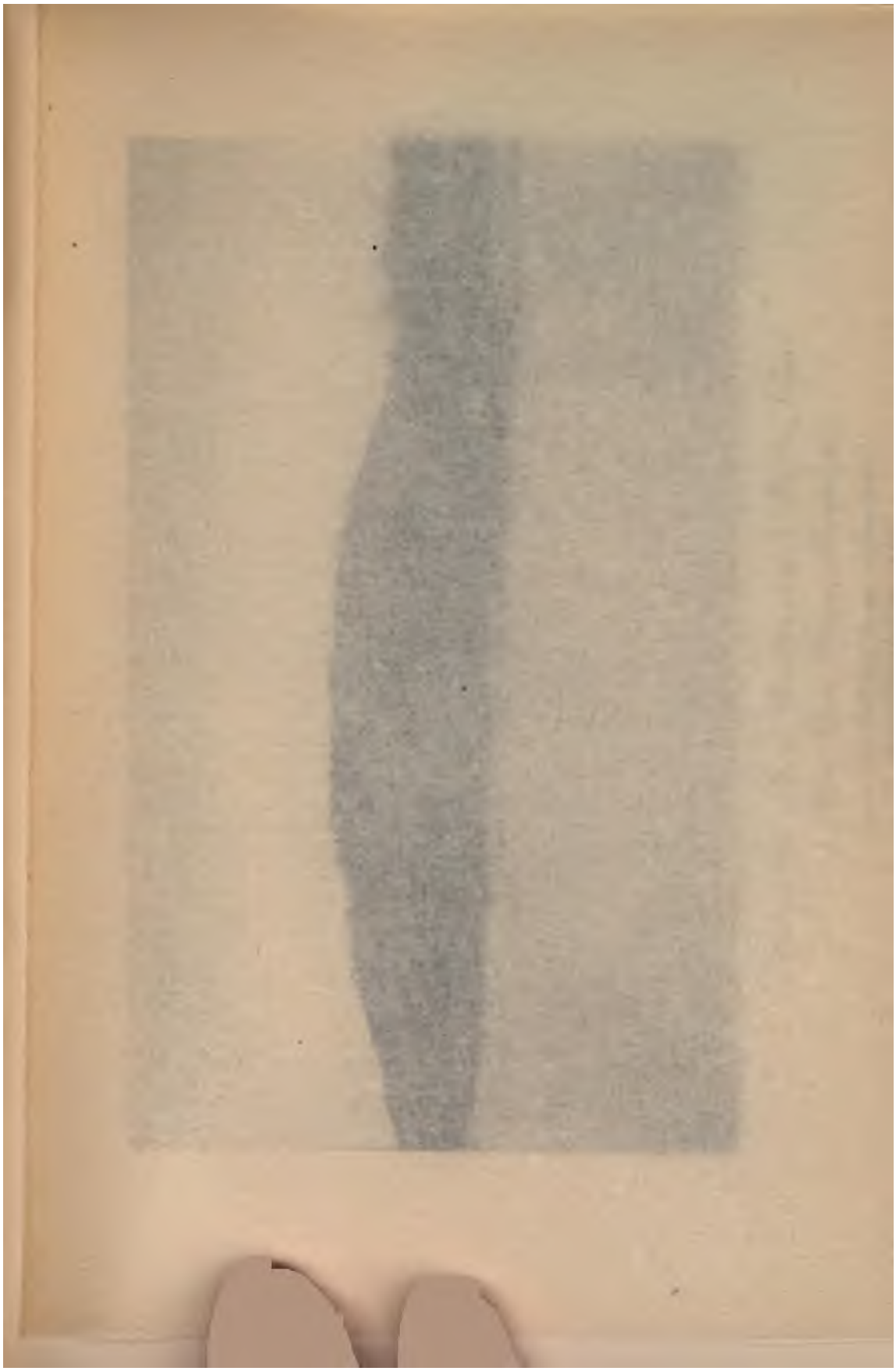
[4] Miss Quincy was the eldest daughter of President Quincy.

[5] Catharine Eliot, daughter of Samuel Eliot, afterward Mrs. Andrews Norton.

[6] Abigail Phillips Quincy.

[7] Margaret Morton Quincy married Benjamin D. Greene.

[8] Maria Sophia Quincy.



A. W. Elson & Co. Boston

View of Horn Pond Mountain and the Wooded Island in Horn Pond, Woburn, Massachusetts

Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts from a photograph from nature

large party of friends we had been invited to join already in one of the canal boats. They were the families of Mr. and Mrs. Richard and William Sullivan, Mrs. George Sullivan, two of her younger sisters, Jane and Ann Winthrop,[1] Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Webster, Mr. John L[angdon] Sullivan, a Superintendent of the Canal, who arranged this charming party, Olivia Buckminster, George B. Emerson and S. May, two Collegians, and some other young men.

We proceeded up the Canal, and passed through several locks; the banks were beautiful. We passed through the grounds of Mr. P. C. Brooks and along the banks of several beautiful ponds or rather lakes, until we arrived on the bank of the largest denominated the Lake of the Woods.[2] This was surrounded by hills covered with trees; and contained a beautiful wooded Island. Here our party disembarked and as we wound our way to a Pavilion situated at the finest point of view, strains of music floated over the lake and a boat emerged from the island and rowed toward the shore. The musicians landed, and, followed by a long procession of children, advanced to an eminence situated between the canal and the lake, and commanding a complete view of both. There the grass had been cut, and the ground levelled under an awning, and here the whole party assembled, the children danced, the band played. The ladies and gentlemen either looked on or wandered on the banks of the lake. The scene was diversified by a canal boat full of passengers coming down the canal from the Merrimac and exchanging salutations as they passed on toward Boston. After an hour or two, a march was played and the company walked in procession to the Pavilion where a collation was prepared. Walking and dancing was resumed, and late in the afternoon we bade a reluctant farewell to the lovely scene and again descended the canal and the locks we had passed in the morning. The band playing and the gentlemen and ladies now and then singing songs.

We again disembarked in a wood[3] through the shade of which we walked to the banks of another lake.[4] Some of the ladies expressed a wish for some water lilies. Mr. Webster said, "If I was a young man the ladies should not ask for those flowers in vain!" On which Mr. Emerson and Mr. Sam May dashed into the lake and wading about gathered a great number of lilies, brought them to shore and distributed

[1] Daughters of the Hon. Thomas Lindall Winthrop. Jane Winthrop died unmarried in Boston 21 February, 1819, and her sister Ann married Dr. John Collins Warren.

[2] Otherwise known as Horn Pond, in Woburn.

[3] Bacon's Grove. See above, p. 223 *note* 1.

[4] Upper Mystic Pond.

them, at the great risk of their health as they were obliged to wear their wet clothes the rest of the afternoon. Fortunately, they were attired in black silk or stuff pantaloons which were not injured in appearance. Mrs. Quincy thought it was very wrong in Mr. Webster to make such a speech and cause the young men to run such a risk. We walked farther up the bank of the lake, [and] my mother seated herself on the stump of a tree; C. Eliot and I and some of the gentlemen placed ourselves at her feet and she sang several songs. A return to the boat was sounded and we marched through the woods to the tune of "How sweet through the woodlands." We paused again to take coffee and it was delightful, floating down the canal. The sun set, the moon rose, the band played and the gentlemen sang songs until we arrived at the place of embarkation in Charlestown, where the carriages were in waiting.

After leaving C. Eliot at her father's house in Tremont St.,[1] Boston, we returned to Quincy.

Mr. FRANCIS H. LINCOLN read two unpublished letters of Daniel Webster.

Mr. DAVIS exhibited one of the notes emitted in 1741 by the Ipswich, or Essex County, Land Bank, which has recently come into his possession.

Mr. DAVIS communicated the following information concerning the Historical Societies which have been incorporated in Massachusetts since the last Report on this subject was made to the Society:[2]

THE HARVARD HISTORICAL SOCIETY.[3]

Purposes. To collect and preserve manuscripts, printed books, pamphlets, historical facts, biographical and historical relics, and to stimulate research into local and natural history.

Date of Charter. 23 April, 1900.

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[1] The house of Samuel Eliot, the great merchant and philanthropist, stood on a large estate which made the northerly corner of Beacon and Tremont Streets (Gleaner Articles, No. 33, in Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, v., Second edition, 96). The site is now occupied by the department store of Houghton and Dutton.

[2] See Publications, vi. 455, 456.

[3] This society is in the town of Harvard, Worcester County.

THE PALMER HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Purposes. The collecting and preserving of historical and genealogical data, documents, books, pamphlets, views of historical places and scenery, as well as antique objects connected with the town of Palmer and other localities, also the encouragement of the study of natural and physical history and the establishment and maintenance of a cabinet for its collections and the holding of real or personal estate which may come into its possession.

Date of Charter. 31 May, 1900.

THE DOVER HISTORICAL AND NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY OF DOVER AND VICINITY.

Purposes. To collect and preserve such relics and antiquities, facts, and documents as will throw light on our local history, either by gift or loan, and also to promote a knowledge of natural history, by the formation of a museum, and in every way advancing the aims of the society by such means as are at our command.

Date of Charter. 1 September, 1900.

THE LONGMEADOW HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Purposes. The purpose for which the Corporation is constituted is to collect and preserve facts and mementos that shall tend to illustrate & perpetuate the History & Memory of the early settlers of this region & to lease acquire or erect a suitable building in which such collections may be safely & securely deposited.

Date of Charter. 3 November, 1900.[1]

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[1] The following quasi-historical societies have also been incorporated:

WALES FAMILY ASSOCIATION.

Purposes. To collect, preserve and publish the Genealogical records and history of the Wales family and to cultivate and strengthen its family ties.

Date of Charter. 12 April, 1900.

THE CONTRACTORS AND BUILDERS ASSOCIATION OF THE CITY OF BOSTON.

Purposes. To establish an association of Master Mechanics, Contractors, Builders & those persons who are engaged in trades and industries connected with the construction of buildings, public works, and trades & industries subsidiary thereto, to promote a knowledge of literature, history & science as relates to building operations & to provide suitable rooms for meetings & discussions of questions relating to the building industries & to establish and maintain a library for the use of the members to accomplish the purposes aforesaid.

Date of Charter. 15 June, 1900.

Mr. JOHN NOBLE communicated some curious extracts from early newspapers.

The Honorable JAMES MADISON MORTON, LL.D., of Fall River, and Mr. GEORGE VASMER LEVERETT of Boston, were elected Resident Members.

VETERAN ASSOCIATION, COMPANY L, SIXTH REGIMENT, MASSACHUSETTS VOLUNTEER MILITIA.

Purposes. The prosecution of historical studies, and the establishment and maintenance of a place for social meetings.

Date of Charter. 2 August, 1900.

INDEPENDENT BOSTON FUSILIER VETERANS.

Purposes. To bring together in fraternal union the past active members of the Independent Boston Fusiliers, now known as Battery G, First Heavy Artillery, M.V.M., its predecessors and successors; to keep alive interest in the affairs of said organization and to cherish and record the past and current history of the same. To establish a place for social meetings.

Date of Charter. 2 August, 1900.

CENTRAL REPUBLICAN CLUB.

Purposes. To promote the political education of voters, to teach American political history, to secure a place for lectures, speeches, or debates on political subjects, to procure & distribute literature on the same & to maintain a place for social meetings to attract members to the rooms of the club. [Fall River.]

Date of Charter. 24 October, 1900.

WEST NEWBURY NATURAL HISTORY CLUB.

Purposes. The purpose for which the Corporation is constituted is to promote the knowledge of natural science and local history and to maintain a general library.

Date of Charter. 8 February, 1901.

STATED MEETING OF THE COUNCIL,

7 NOVEMBER, 1901.

A STATED MEETING of the Council was held on Thursday, 7 November, 1901, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE, LL.D., in the chair.

Present, Messrs. Henry Winchester Cunningham, Henry Herbert Edes, Frederick Lewis Gay, Edward Hale, George Lyman Kittredge, and John Noble.

The following is an extract from the Records of the Meeting:

The members of the Council wish to place upon its Records an expression of their sorrow at the death of their colleague, ROBERT NOXON TOPPAN on the tenth of May, and of their appreciation of his character.

Born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Mr. Toppan came of a family which for more than two centuries and a half has held high social rank in Newburyport, Massachusetts. He graduated with honors at Harvard in 1858, studied law, and was admitted to the New York Bar. After a long residence abroad, he made his home in Cambridge, where for nearly a score of years, possessed of an ample fortune, surrounded by his family, his friends, and his books, he lived the life of a highly cultivated gentleman, scholar, and man of affairs. His knowledge of numismatics was extensive, and he was deeply interested in historical pursuits. He was the author of several monographs and a contributor to the proceedings of those learned societies with which he was in fellowship. His greatest work, entitled Edward Randolph, was published by the Prince Society in five quarto volumes, and is a monument of his ability and patience in bringing together the memorials of Randolph's life and the public papers of that devoted servant and agent of the English Crown.

Mr. Toppan was elected to membership in this Society in March, 1893, soon after its incorporation, and during the rest of his life he was a most devoted and interested member, and constant in his attendance upon its meetings. At the Annual Meeting in 1898 he was elected to

the Council, of which for two years he was a valued and valuable member.

Mr. Toppan attested his loyalty to Harvard College by founding an Annual Prize for the best essay, of sufficient merit, on a subject in Political Science, and also by his devoted service for many years in the Harvard Chapter of Phi Beta Kappa. He was active in good works, outspoken and courageous, intensely patriotic, a hater of everything that was not genuine and true, and a generous giver of time, service and money where they were needed in cases and causes which enlisted his sympathy. He was a most delightful neighbor and friend. His was a charming personality. With a heart overflowing with affection for those nearest and dearest to him, and with sympathy for all who needed it, gentle and refined in thought and deed, possessing a mind stored with interesting reminiscences of foreign travel, which were always at the command of his retentive memory, his companionship was prized by those who were privileged to enjoy it.

ANNUAL MEETING, NOVEMBER, 1901.

THE ANNUAL MEETING was held at the University Club, No. 270 Beacon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 21 November, 1901, at six o'clock in the afternoon, the President, GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE, LL.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Meeting were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that letters had been received from Mr. GEORGE VASMER LEVERETT, and Mr. Justice MORTON of the Supreme Judicial Court, accepting Resident Membership.

The Annual Report of the Council was presented and read by the RECORDING SECRETARY.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

We have now completed nine years of existence as a Society. The character of our Publications, and the interest that has been manifested in the papers read and in the historical documents exhibited at our meetings, have shown that there is a wide field for work of the kind that we are doing. There are still unpublished countless letters, manuscripts, diaries, and other documents which would be of deep interest to the student of history, and which would throw much light upon the life and actions of many an old New England worthy or family. The Council urges every member to look carefully through the old papers and letters that he may have or that may belong to other members of his family, and when he finds one that would be of interest in our work to bring it to a meeting of the Society; or, if he has a portrait or other relic of Colonial or Provincial times to exhibit that at a meeting. In that way almost every member can do something to show his interest in our work.

There have been added to our Roll six Resident Members,

Charles Greely Loring,	Arthur Richmond Marsh,
Ephraim Emerton,	George Vasmer Leverett,
Edward Charles Pickering,	James Madison Morton;

and one Corresponding Member,

General Joseph Wheeler.

We have lost by death six Resident Members,

Roger Wolcott,	Edward William Hooper,
Henry Williams,	John Chester Inches,
Robert Noxon Toppan,	James Bradstreet Greenough;

and two Corresponding Members,

Moses Coit Tyler,	Herbert Baxter Adams.

Moses Coit Tyler died at Ithaca, New York, on the twenty-eighth of December, 1900, at the age of sixty-five. He was born in Connecticut, graduated from Yale in 1857, studied for the ministry at Andover and preached for a few years; but the greater part of his career was spent as Professor of Literature and of History at the University of Michigan and at Cornell. He left as an enduring monument several fascinating volumes upon the American Literature of the Colonial and Revolutionary times. Correct in statement, accurate in critical judgment, and with a simplicity of style that is delightful, these works will long remain as models of their kind.

Herbert Baxter Adams of Baltimore died on the thirtieth of July, 1901. He was born at Amherst, Massachusetts, on the sixteenth of April, 1850, graduated from Amherst College in 1872, and spent three years in study and residence in Europe. Since 1876, he had been connected with Johns Hopkins University as Instructor and Professor in History, and also as Editor of their serial publication known as Studies in Historical and Political Science. To these he had contributed many able articles upon American history. He was also Secretary of the American Historical Association, a position he had held since the formation of that organization in 1884.

The By-Laws have been changed so that our Stated Meetings are now held on the fourth Thursday instead of on the third Wednesday of the month. At these meetings many papers and communications were read, and rare letters, documents and portraits exhibited.

We have received the sum of Ten Thousand Dollars from the estate of our late President, being one-half of his bequest to the Society and all that is now available. This has been named the Edward Wheelwright Fund, the income of which is to be used to defray in part the cost of our Publications. In mentioning this bequest, the Council cannot refrain from again reminding the Society of the debt of gratitude that it owes to the memory of Mr. Wheelwright, — that modest, kind-hearted gentleman, himself a scholar and a patron of literature. It was fortunate, indeed, when our choice fell upon him to be our leader. This Fund together with one of like amount raised in memory of our first President, Dr. Gould, and a small fund of about nine hundred dollars, made up of sundry gifts, are all that are available for our work of publication. We have also a General Fund of about thirty-eight hundred dollars, the income of which can be used for general purposes. From this statement, our members can readily see that our income is still very limited. We are, however, prepared to do greater work when greater means are at our command.

One of our needs at the moment is a place of habitation, even though it be but temporary, for if we had such a place, we should receive many gifts of books, manuscripts, pictures, and other relics of Colonial times.

The Report of the Treasurer was then submitted, as follows:

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

In compliance with the By-Laws, I have the honor to submit the following statement of the financial operations of the Society for the past year, and of the amount, character and condition of the investments.

CASH ACCOUNT.

RECEIPTS.

Balance, 17 November, 1900		$6.45
Admission Fees	$60.00	
Annual Assessments	710.00	
Commutation of the Annual Assessment, from five members	500.00	
Interest	1,184.53	
Sales of the Society's Publications, etc.	16.60	
Mortgage (assigned)	350.00	
Withdrawn from Charlestown Five Cents Savings Bank	700.00	
Bequest of Edward Wheelwright (in part)	10,000.00	13,521.13
		$13,527.58

EXPENDITURES.

University Press, printing	$68.94	
A. W. Elson and Company: photogravure of Mr. Wheelwright and plate printing	80.88	
John H. Daniels and Son, plate printing	17.40	
Suffolk Engraving Company, relief plates	21.20	
Hill, Smith and Company, stationery	5.75	
Library Bureau, Cabinet and Cards for Indexing	19.65	
Eva G. Moore, on account of Index of Volume V.	50.00	
William H. Hart, auditing	5.00	
Clerical service	72.05	
Miscellaneous incidentals	309.35	
Deposited in Charlestown Five Cents Savings Bank	210.00	
Mortgages on improved Real Estate in Boston, principal and interest payable in gold coin	11,600.00	
Interest in adjustment	154.23	12,614.45
Balance on deposit in Third National Bank of Boston, 16 November, 1901		913.13
		$13,527.58

The Funds of the Society are invested as follows:

$24,750.00 in First Mortgages, payable in gold coin, on improved property in Boston and Cambridge;
30.00 deposited in the Charlestown Five Cents Savings Bank.

$24,780.00

TRIAL BALANCE.

DEBITS.

Cash		$913.13
Mortgages	$24,750.00	
Charlestown Five Cents Savings Bank	30.00	24,780.00
		$25,693.13

CREDITS.

Income		$913.13
Publication Fund	$900.00	
General Fund	3,880.00	
Gould Memorial Fund	10,000.00	
Edward Wheelwright Fund	10,000.00	24,780.00
		$25,693.13

HENRY H. EDES,
Treasurer.

BOSTON, 16 November, 1901.

The Committee, consisting of Messrs. HENRY L. HIGGINSON and SAMUEL WELLS, appointed to examine the Treasurer's Accounts, reported, through Mr. WELLS, that the Accounts had been correctly kept and properly vouched, and that proper evidence of the Investments and of the balance of cash on hand had been exhibited.

The several Reports were accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication.

Mr. CHARLES ARMSTRONG SNOW, on behalf of the Committee to nominate Officers for the ensuing year, made the following Report:

PRESIDENT.

GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

WILLIAM WATSON GOODWIN.
JAMES BRADLEY THAYER.

RECORDING SECRETARY.
HENRY WINCHESTER CUNNINGHAM.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.
JOHN NOBLE.

TREASURER.
HENRY HERBERT EDES.

REGISTRAR.
FREDERICK LEWIS GAY.

MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL FOR THREE YEARS.
ALBERT MATTHEWS.

The Report was accepted; and, a ballot being taken, these gentlemen were unanimously elected.

After the Annual Meeting had been dissolved, dinner was served. The guests of the Society were Winslow Warren, President of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati; Charles Francis Adams, Henry Williamson Haynes and Charles Card Smith, representing the Massachusetts Historical Society; the Reverend Samuel Atkins Eliot, President of the American Unitarian Association; Alfred Hemenway, representing the Bar Association; and JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER, a Corresponding Member. President KITTREDGE presided, and the Reverend EDWARD HENRY HALL invoked the Divine Blessing.

After dinner, speeches were made by the PRESIDENT and the guests.

During the evening Mr. HENRY H. EDES, having been asked to make a statement in regard to the condition of the Publications of the Society, said:

MR. PRESIDENT, — I am not so vain as to suppose, for a moment, that our members will care to hear my voice — what is

left of it — when you have such a galaxy of good speakers sitting above the salt; but as we all yield obedience to your commands, I am on my feet. Before making the statement which you ask of me, I have great pleasure in offering for the acceptance of the Society a collection of unpublished manuscripts, about a hundred in number. The collection includes Letters, Reports, Petitions, Indentures, Commissions, Military Orders and Muster Rolls, covering a period of half a century from 1754 to 1804, although the bulk of the papers relate to the Revolutionary period. The matters and events treated of occurred in Boston, Saratoga, West Point, Valley Forge and other places; while the letters bear the autographs of Washington, James Warren, Benjamin Lincoln, Rufus Putnam, John Scollay, Samuel Dexter, and others.

I have brought with me to-night for inspection an interesting relic of Washington. It is a miniature of the first President painted on glass and long preserved in the Lee family. Until the Civil War it was in the possession of Mrs. Caroline (Lee) Macrea, a cousin of General Robert E. Lee, and is now owned by one of my friends, who married a scion of that house.

It is sometimes asked, Why cannot our Serials be brought out with the same promptness and regularity with which the Serials of the Massachusetts Historical Society are brought out by our friend Mr. Smith, whom we are all glad to welcome here to-night as one of our guests? The answer is not difficult. The Historical Society, with its large endowment and its accomplished and industrious paid Editor, can do much that is not possible to a Society a hundred years its junior, with a modest endowment of barely $25,000, which is obliged to depend upon the voluntary service of a few busy men who can give only a portion of their time to our editorial work. With larger funds at our disposal, more work could be done on our Publications, but until our income is considerably increased we shall fail to realize fully our ambitions in this direction.

Mr. Edes then gave in detail the present condition of the Publications, and continuing said:

Volume II is to contain the Commissions and Instructions of the Royal Governors of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay,

and their Commissions as Vice-Admirals, besides the remarkable Commission to Gibson, then Bishop of London, authorizing him to exercise Ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the Colonies, and another to Randolph as Collector, Surveyor, and Searcher of the Customs. Mr. Goodell's introductory notes to those Instructions which were received by the Authorities in Boston between the overthrow of Andros and the arrival of Phips with the Province Charter are of the greatest interest and value, and present for the first time in print a mass of letters and legislative proceedings of the first importance which have slumbered in the Massachusetts Archives for more than two centuries.

Since I have referred to the publications of the Historical Society, I wish to say, before I sit down, how profoundly I realize from year to year the great debt of gratitude which all historical students and scholars owe to our elder sister for the magnificent work she has done during the past hundred years and is still doing. Her representatives who have honored us with their presence to-night do not need to be assured of the entire respect in which the members of this Society have always held her, or of our willingness to sit at her feet and learn the lesson which her industry, her faithfulness, her wisdom and her scholarship teach.

DECEMBER MEETING, 1901.

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at No. 25 Beacon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 26 December, 1901, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE, LL.D., in the chair.

The Records of the Annual Meeting in November were read and approved.

The PRESIDENT announced the death of Professor JAMES BRADSTREET GREENOUGH, a Resident Member, and paid a tribute to his memory.[1]

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS read a paper on the term Indian Summer, speaking in substance as follows:[2]

However much we Americans may abuse our ever changing climate, there is at least one portion of the year upon which we unite in lavishing praise. It need scarcely be said that I allude to that highly indefinite but always delightful period known as the Indian summer. Connected as this season is, both by name and in popular belief, with the aborigines, it would seem as if the name itself must be of some antiquity; yet, so far as my observation goes, it is not until the year 1794 that the expression Indian summer occurs at all, and not until the nineteenth century that it became well established. If the term is, in fact, barely more than a century old, it would again seem as if we ought to be able to trace out its origin with some certainty. Yet such is far from being the case.

In a little more than a century there has grown up a popular belief that there occurs in our autumn a spell of peculiar weather,

[1] A sketch of Mr. Greenough, written by President Kittredge, will be found in the Harvard Graduates' Magazine for December, 1901, x. 196–201.

[2] Mr. Matthews's paper was printed in full by the United States Weather Bureau in the Monthly Weather Review for January and February, 1902, xxx. 19–28, 69–79, and also in a separate pamphlet.

and to this has been given the name of the Indian summer. It has been stated that this spell appears in September; that it comes in October; that it occurs in November or not at all; that it takes place in January; that it lasts for three or five days only; that it extends over a period of more than four weeks; that it is peculiar to New England; that it does not occur in New England at all; that it is now more marked than was formerly the case; that in former years it was more pronounced than it is now; that it has at present ceased to occur anywhere. Amid these various and conflicting assertions, it is not easy to arrive at any definite conclusion; but, eliminating the points in regard to which there is divergence of opinion, it is tolerably clear that this supposed spell of peculiar weather is characterized by three special features, — by a warmth greater than that of the few days or weeks immediately preceding, by smokiness, and by haziness. It is true that some scientific writers have denied the existence of the increased warmth and have declared that the alleged smokiness is an optical illusion. But the popular belief — and it is with this only that I am concerned — appears to be such as I have described.

The statement already made that the term Indian summer itself is unknown until 1794, and the further statement that allusions to the Indian-summer season under any name appear to be unknown until late in the eighteenth century, will doubtless cause surprise and arouse opposition; for they are in direct conflict with popular belief and with many assertions to the contrary. For nearly a century people have been asserting that the term Indian summer was known to and employed by our early writers. Yet this is clearly a mistake. Of the seventeenth century writers, some make no allusion at all to climate, while others occasionally indulge in an observation about the weather, but cannot be said to discuss climate. In general, however, at least some brief remark about climate — or, as many authors were fond of calling it, the "air" — was thought proper, and the works in which such discussions occur are numerous. In the eighteenth century there were also some writings from which allusions to climate were absent, but as a rule the allusions were frequent. The fact that so many writers previous to 1800 neither employed the term nor recognized the season, is equally singular and noteworthy.

While at Le Bœuf, a few miles from the present city of Erie, Pennsylvania, Major Ebenezer Denny made this entry in his Journal on 13 October, 1794:

Pleasant weather. The Indian summer here. Frosty nights.[1]

Mr. MATTHEWS then gave a series of extracts illustrating the history of the term from its earliest recorded appearance in 1794 to the present time; and continuing, said:

From the evidence which has thus far been presented, it is seen that the term Indian summer first made its appearance in the last decade of the eighteenth century; that during the next decade the expression "second summer" was used, indicating that there was no generally accepted designation for the supposed spell of peculiar weather in autumn; that this spell itself was first noted shortly before 1800; that the term Indian summer became established about twenty years after its earliest appearance; that it was first employed in western Pennsylvania; that it had spread to New England by 1798, to New York by 1809, to Canada by 1821, and to England by 1830; that the term is not merely an Americanism, but has become part of the English language in its widest sense, having actually supplanted in England expressions which had there been in vogue for centuries, and is now heard among English speaking people throughout the world; that it has been adopted by the poets; that it has often been employed in a beautiful figurative sense, as applied to the declining years of a man's life; and that it has given rise to much picturesque if also to some flamboyant writing. In short, to write in praise of the Indian summer is now a literary convention on three continents. So varied a history in little more than a century is certainly remarkable.

If, as we have seen, the term Indian summer is popularly used in an indefinite way, no less vague and uncertain are most of the explanations which have been advanced to account for its origin.

[1] Military Journal, 1859, p. 198. The Journal was also printed, together with another work, in 1860, and the passage will be found at page 402 of that edition.

Mr. MATTHEWS then went on to give these explanations in detail and to consider them critically, and in conclusion said:

There are perhaps no words or phrases which are so difficult to trace to their origin as those which are, or may be, or are supposed to be connected with the Indians. Few Indians before 1800 could write, of the few who could still fewer did, and of the few who did none appear to have written about their own people. Consequently our knowledge of the languages, religions, myths, legends, traditions, manners, and customs of the Indians come to us through the whites; and among peoples which have no literature of their own it is notoriously difficult to arrive at true accounts in regard to such matters. There is certainly no lack of variety in the theories which have been discussed, but however it may appear to others, it does not seem to me that any one of them has any substantial basis in fact. It is possible that the name will some day be traced to an Indian myth or legend; but we cannot at present say with certainty that the allusions to the Indian summer in those tales related by Schoolcraft and by Jones are genuine, and the evidence points to the conclusion that these allusions have found their way to the Indians from the whites. We shall, therefore, be obliged to suspend judgment with respect to the origin of the name of the Indian summer until fresh evidence as to the early history of the term is produced.

A long discussion followed the reading of this paper, in which President KITTREDGE, the Reverend EDWARD HALE, Mr. DENISON R. SLADE, Mr. LINDSAY SWIFT and others participated.

Mr. HENRY H. EDES exhibited an original Commission dated 13 June, 1692, to Thomas Leonard of Taunton as Captain of a foot company of militia in that town. The Commission is signed by Sir William Phips, Governor, and Isaac Addington, Secretary, of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay.

Mr. EDES also exhibited "An ELEGY in Memory of the Worshipful Major Thomas Leonard, Esq., Of *Taunton* in *New-England;* Who departed this Life on the 24th Day of *November, Anno Domini* 1713. In the 73d. Year of his

Age." The Elegy[1] was written by the Reverend Samuel Danforth of the Harvard Class of 1683, long the minister of the Taunton Church.[2]

MR. HENRY W. CUNNINGHAM, having been called upon, spoke as follows: —

MR. PRESIDENT: I wish to communicate to the Society a Journal, covering the period from the twenty-sixth of April to the second of July, 1776, kept by Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Vose of Milton, Massachusetts, on the expedition sent by way of the Hudson River and Lake Champlain into Canada to reinforce the troops that had been sent there in 1775 under the command of General Montgomery and General Thomas.

This Journal is in the form of a letter written by Colonel Vose to his wife at Milton, and evidently is, as its opening sentence declares, "A Memorandum Drew from y^e^ minutes I took Daily." It was probably written in camp some time after the occurrences mentioned took place, as, for example, under the date of the twenty-third of May, in speaking of the cartel after the affair at the Cedars, he says, "the Same cartel was afterwards Carried to Congress, but they Comply'd not with it." This, too, may account for some slight inaccuracies of dates, — as when he places the death of General Thomas[3] on the twenty-eighth of May instead of on the second of June, although, even in this case, he may be merely noting the information brought to his camp.

Joseph Vose came of an old New-England family and was born on the twenty-sixth of November, 1738,[4] on the farm in Milton

[1] It was printed, from another copy, in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxii. 141. For notices of the Leonard family, see *Ibid.* xxii. 140–143; 1 Massachusetts Historical Collections, iii. 173–175.

[2] For a notice of Danforth, see Sibley, Harvard Graduates, iii. 243–249.

[3] The date 2 June is given by J. Winsor, Reader's Handbook of the American Revolution (1899), p. 91, and J. P. Baxter, Journal of Lieut. W. Digby, p. 9 *note;* but W. T. R. Saffell, Records of the Revolutionary War (1858), p. 436, gives 30 May, while F. S. Drake, New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxxiii. 383, gives 5 June.

[4] The Milton Town Records give the date of Colonel Vose's birth as 26 November, 1738, and Memorials of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati (1890), p. 493, give it as 7 December, 1739. In the Milton Church Records his baptism is found under date of 3 December, 1738. The Milton Town Records state that he died 22 May, 1816, aged 76.

that had belonged to his family for three quarters of a century. At the age of twenty-two, he married Sarah, daughter of Josiah Howe.

Colonel Vose was a farmer both before and after the Revolution, and at all times a public-spirited citizen interested in town affairs; and with a deep interest in the military, he played a prominent part in the army during that stirring period. Previous to the outbreak of hostilities, he had been a Colonel of the district militia and a Major in Heath's Suffolk Regiment.[1] On the twentieth of May, 1775, he had taken a party of sixty men in boats to the light-house in Boston Harbor, which they burned, and from which they carried off a field-piece, the swivel and the lamps. Early in 1776, he was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel of the 24th Continental Infantry of which John Greaton of Roxbury was Colonel,[2] and after the evacuation of Boston, he went with his regiment to New York and thence up the Hudson and into Canada. In 1777, he was made Colonel of the 1st Massachusetts Regiment and joined the army under Washington in New Jersey, participating in the battle of Monmouth. He served with Sullivan in his Rhode Island Campaign in 1778, took part in the Siege of Yorktown, and at the close of the war was made Brigadier-General by brevet. He was one of the original members of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati. He died in Milton on the twenty-second of May, 1816.

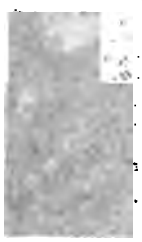
The expedition of which this Journal gives a partial sketch, was sent from New York in the latter part of April, 1776, and consisted of four regiments, the 8th, 15th, 24th and 25th Continental Infantry, commanded by Colonels Enoch Poor of New Hampshire, and John Paterson, John Greaton and William Bond of Massachusetts, respectively, with General William Thompson of Pennsylvania as Commander of the expedition until its junction with the forces already in Canada.[3] The men suffered hardships tramping in wet weather through the wilderness, but were in good spirits,

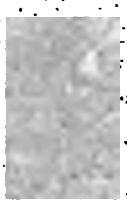
[1] Memorials of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati, p. 493.

[2] See *Ibid.*; also Heitman's Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army during the War of the Revolution.

[3] Under dates of 15, 21, and 26 April, 1776, Heath wrote:

Four American regiments, viz. Poor's, Patterson's, Greaton's, and Bond's, were ordered for Canada; Gen. Thompson was to command them. Gen. Thomas had been, some time before, sent from Boston to command in Canada. . . . The regiments destined for Canada, sailed for Albany. . . . Six more regiments were ordered for Canada, viz. two from the Pennsylvania line, two from the New-Jersey, and two from the New-Hampshire (Memoirs, 1798, p. 45).





House of Joseph Vose. Milton, Massachusetts

Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
from a photograph taken in 1904

and anxious to join the Army and take part in the storming of Quebec. Their ardor received a check upon their arrival, on the eighth of May, at Sorel, where they heard of the defeat at Quebec and met returning troops, many of them sick with smallpox. After camping there for about two weeks, orders were received to proceed up the St. Lawrence to Montreal and have the men inoculated for smallpox. On this march they fell in with the delegates from the Continental Congress and heard of the disastrous skirmish at the Cedars. Colonel Vose remained several days in Montreal, many of his command sick from their inoculation, and for a time his men were the only American troops in the hostile city, and were daily expecting an uprising of the inhabitants. From Montreal they took part in forays towards the Cedars, to Three Rivers and to Chambly, and thence, with all the other American troops in Canada, began that masterly retreat, with the enemy close upon them, up the Richelieu River and Lake Champlain to Crown Point and Ticonderoga. Lieutenant-Colonel Vose had an important command in the rear, and in his Journal he gives many details of his experiences on land and water.

At the beginning of this Journal, the writer speaks of a previous one giving an account of his trip from Cambridge to New York, and he closes it with a promise of another giving more details of the movement of our troops in Canada; but this is the only Diary or paper[1] of Joseph Vose that is known to be in existence. If this distinguished officer did write other Journals it is unfortunate that they have been lost, and it is hoped that the publication of this one will induce all who are of the Vose blood to search their old family papers for other writings of Joseph Vose.

[1] Under date of 13 December, 1901, the Rev. James Gardiner Vose, D.D., of Providence, Rhode Island, the grandson of Col. Joseph Vose and a member of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati, writes: —

I regret very much to say that there is no portrait of my Grandfather, nor any diary or Journal of his in existence. He died in 1816, and no effort seems to have been made by any of his children to preserve papers which he must have left.

The diary now printed is in the possession of a collateral branch of the family, which may easily account for the fact that the Rev. Dr. Vose had never heard of its existence. It belongs to Mrs. William Brewster of Cambridge, Massachusetts, a great grand-daughter of Elijah Vose of Milton, brother of Joseph Vose, and himself an officer in the Revolutionary Army and Lieutenant-Colonel of the Regiments of which his brother Joseph was in command.

JOURNAL OF LIEUTENANT-COLONEL JOSEPH VOSE.

A Memorandum Drew from y^e^ Minutes I took Daily. 1776. To MRS. VOSE. — Mam. from Cambridge to N. York, I sent you home a Memorandum. — March 30th, then arriv'd att N. York, which time we fortified y^e^ Governor's Isleland & the City. Spent the time very Agreeably, while we was

th 20. April. there; Set Sail for Albany, with Greaton's Regiment — Patterson's, Bond's & poor's,[1] under the Command of Gen! Thomson, with our Regiments all Hearty & well & in good Spirits, we lived well upon our Passage went on Shore got Butter Egg's, & every thing we wanted. I had a fine Cabbin to lodge in & the best Voyage I ever went by water.

25 Arriv'd at Albany the City was much bigger than I expected. we got some Necessaries for the Reg^t^

26. Set out for half-moon,[2] there fell a Heavy rain in the morning, which made it bad Travelling, the Land from Albany to half moon is exceeding Good,

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[1] The officers mentioned in this Journal may all be identified and the terms of their service found by referring to F. B. Heitman's Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army during the War of the Revolution (Washington, 1893).

John Greaton, afterwards Brigadier-General, was a resident of Roxbury, Massachusetts, where he was born 10 March, 1741, and died 16 December, 1783. He is buried in the cemetery on the corner of Washington and Eustis Streets, Boston.

John Paterson was a resident of Lenox and was Colonel of the Berkshire regiment which started for Boston upon hearing the news of the battle of Lexington. He graduated from Yale in 1762 and was by profession a lawyer. After the war he removed to Binghamton, New York, and was Chief-Justice of the County Court. He died 19 July, 1808 (Memorials of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati, Boston, 1890, p. 381).

William Bond, born 17 February, 1733–34, was of the Watertown family of that name. He died in camp near Ticonderoga 31 August, 1776 (Bond's Genealogies and History of Watertown, i. 66).

Enoch Poor was a prominent merchant of Exeter, New Hampshire, and served with distinction as Colonel and Brigadier-General. He died in camp at Hackensack, New Jersey, 8 or 9 September, 1780.

[2] Half Moon is now Waterford on the Hudson, and was undoubtedly named for Henry Hudson's ship. There were no bridges over the Hudson or Mohawk rivers at that time, but there was a ferry at Half Moon, and another on the Mohawk five miles above Cohoes Falls (Lossing's Field Book of the Revolution, i. 41).

27. take our baggage out of y^e^ Battoes, as it went from Albany to half moon in Battoes, we arrived att Stillwater that Night where we took up two Deserters of Col^o^ Poors Reg^t^ & sent them back to Albany. Nothing Extrodiary happen'd to Day.

April th 28. Sunday Morning, Clear & Pleaseant, we then put our baggage into Battoes, & March'd for Saratoga where we arrived before Night. we took our baggage out of the Battoes, & carried it across the Carrying-Place about one mild, then Carried it about 3 mild by Water to fort Miller the land from Still Water to Fort Miller very good, Some part of the Regim^t^. tarry att Saratoga, & some part at fort Miller, Col^o^ Greaton & my self tarry with Gel^l^ Schuyler. Gen^ll^ Schuyler has got a very Grand farm, & Elegant Buildings, 2 mild from Saratoga.

29. Set out for Fort Edward, past fort miller where there was grand Saw mills, Arrived att fort Edward Before Night, Raind very hard Soon after we got there, Nothing Extraordinary happened to Day. only that several of our men fired att Deer & Did not kill them. ——— we viewed the Old fort, & thought it was grand once

30. Marched for fort George, & Schyenesborough,[1] take our baggage out of the Battoes, those men that are the least able to Stand fatigue we send with y^e^ Waggons & baggage to fort George, or fort W^m^ Henry. the rest with Col^o^ Greaton & my self, with 4 Days. Provision upon our Backs, worse travilling men never travailed, this Day we see where Gen^l^ Putnam was taken by the Indians, & tied up to a tree,[2] It now Rains exceeding hard & we have no Shelter, But the Woods. this march proceed's from the Neglect of not having battoes built.

May. th 1 We marched for Schyenesborough where our men took Cold lying on the Ground, & no Shelter the travailing still remains exceeding bad, Some Places water is very high, where

[1] Now Whitehall, at the head of the South Bay of Lake Champlain.

[2] In the skirmish of Abercrombie's troops in August, 1758, with the French and Indians, Major Israel Putnam was taken prisoner and tied to a tree, and was about to be burned alive when released by a French officer. The spot was about a mile west of Fort Anne and just south of Whitehall (*Ibid.* i. 140; and Fiske's New France and New England, 1902, chapter x.).

we have to wade, we Arrive att Schyenesborough Before Night where we had good Shelter. Cap^{t} Bent[1] & myself went to a tavern about a Mild from the Reg^{t} where we were grandly entertaind the men Still Remain in high Spirits athou Such a Fatigue through y^{e} woods, Just before Night 2 of Cap^{t}. William's[2] men got into an old Canoe above the falls their not minding they were so near the falls they got affrighted, & both Jumpt out, one got in again & we could not come att them to give 'em any Assistance the Canoe Driving Down the falls with one that had hold of the Stearn of y^{e} Canoe, it heave him 10 feet high & Broke the Canoe when it passed the falls one of them we found hanging to a bush almost Dead. but revived, & the other never was Found, though there was great Search made from. his Name that was Drowned was howe, Brother to James Howe the Baker at Roxbury.[3]

May. th 2d. this Morning Clear & Pleasant, we Set out from Schyenesborough & Sail to Ticonderoga along the South-Bay. &. Arrived at 12 o the clock, our Reg^{t} then went into the old french Barracks, our baggage is not Come from fort George this afternoon we go out, & view the Ground where y^{e} Battle was fought 1758 & find the mens bones where the battle was fought, my Self & some of y^{e} Officers goes Farther over to the Carrying Place where Lord. Howe[4] landed with 20. thou-

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[1] William Bent, Captain in the 24th Continental Infantry.

[2] Edward Payson Williams, son of Jeremiah Williams of Roxbury, was a Captain in the same regiment and died in service, 25 May, 1777 (Drake's The Town of Roxbury, 1878, pp. 31, 398).

[3] James Howe kept a bakeshop near the corner of the present Washington and Warren Streets and was a prominent man in Roxbury at the time of the Revolution (*Ibid.* pp. 92, 206, 280, 381). He was probably the son of James Howe (born in 1713) of Roxbury, weaver, and Jane Meroth of Dorchester, who were married 31 July, 1740, and had two sons: (i) James, born 2 November, 1746, died 1798, and (ii) David, born 1 March, 1757. The latter was probably the David How, or David Howe, Jr., who was a member of E. P. Williams's Company (Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors in the War of the Revolution, viii. 331, 384).

[4] George Augustus, Viscount Howe, elder brother of Admiral Richard, Viscount Howe and of General Sir William Howe. He was a soldier of great ability and had been sent over by Pitt as second in command to General Abercrombie. He was killed in a battle with the French 6 July, 1758.

sand men, & had not marched, but a little. way before he was Killed, & we saw, the Place, we Still wait for our Baggage to come over lake George, & Does not arrive to Night

3. this morning Clear & Pleasent, our Baggage is Just arrived, we Cart it over the Carrying Place to our Battoes We Drew here 10 days Provisions, for to Carry us to S^{t} Johns; here I bought 2 Barrels of beer to Drink on the lakes. We got ready to set off. att 4 o'Clock, & Saild to Crown Point, that Night. Where we Landed, & the Soldiers went into y^{e} old Barracks, the Officers got into the tavern.

th 4. this morning we rise by times, went viewed the old fort, that was Burnt Down I think it was the Grandest fort that ever was built in America, we put our bagg^{ge} on board the Battoes y^{e} men in high Spirits & are afraid Quebec will be taken before we get there. we now Pursue our Voyage for S^{t}. Johns, we arrive att Split Rock[1] the wind being so Strong against us & the Sea. Rough that we are Obliged to go on shore, & tarry that Night.

th 5 Sunday. — the Wind Still Continues Contrary, & look's Promissing for a Storm. We order'd the men to Clear a Spot of Ground as it was a Wilderness, So that the Rev. M^{r}. Barnum[2] could Preach a Sermon to us. he Preached from Proverbs, Chap^{t} 18. — & Vers. 10. — the Wind Still Continues Contray & we are Obliged to tarry here this Night.

th 6. this morning cold, & Snows fast the Wind Contrary, we Still tarry, one of our men. brought me 2 Partridges, which I Stew'd & had a fine Dinner, the Storm Still Increases, I have got good Beer & Brandy, So that we faired very well, though our, Situation was bad. Nothing remarkable to Day

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[1] Split Rock is about thirty miles north of Crown Point on Lake Champlain.

[2] The Rev. Caleb Barnum was the seventh minister of the First Congregational Church at Taunton, Massachusetts, where he was installed 2 February, 1769. (See Emery's Ministry of Taunton, ii. 1, for a sketch and portrait of him.) He graduated from the College of New Jersey in 1757, and received the honorary degree of A.M. from Harvard in 1768. He was Chaplain of Col. Greaton's Regiment, and through the fatigue and exposure of this expedition he contracted a disease from which he died at Pittsfield, Massachusetts, 23 August, 1776, in the fortieth year of his age.

th 7. this morning Clear & Calm, Snow ankle, High. Set out very early on our passage this Day we rowed, 60 miles to the Isle of Mott,[1] y^e^ men Still in good Spirits we were troubled to Keep the men from rowing beyond their Strength. the land very good on each side y^e^ lake as we past it, we tarried that Night on the Isle of Mott.

th 8 this morning Cloudy the Wind fair, & a fine Gale, we had good Sails to the Battoes & they Saild very fast we arrived at S^t^ Johns,[2] 12 o'Clock, there made a Short Stop & took in Pilots to go to Shambly,[3] we went about 6 miles from S^t^ Johns, there all the men got out of the Battoes except 6 men in each Boat to Go Down the Rapid. I went Down in one of the Battoes as being use to handling an oar the Rapid exceeding Swift, we arrived att Shambly 4 o Clock & there the Rain Came on very fast hindered our Proceeding that Night we tarry here this Night, Col. Greaton &, myself. with M^r^ Barnum tarried in a french House, the Soldiers went into Barraks.

th 9. This morning I began to think of Some bad conduct. Somewhere. we Set early for Sorell, fair Wind & very Pleaseant river. Setled thick on both sides, had not saild far before we saw the women Standing in the water, up to their knees, washing, which I thought very odd, but it was y^e^ Custom among the People though the weather was very cold for the Season. the men Still in good Spirits, & many wagers laid Betwen Officers, we should arrive to Quebec Before Saturday Night, that Day Met a number of Yorkers from Quebec, they said, their times were out Which Still caus'd me to Suspect that matters were conducted bad at Quebec. we arriv'd att Sorell about Sun Down. & as we came to the Shore, we receiv'd the news of our People's Defeat att. Quebec. & their retreat towards us. which gave us a great Shock Indeed, & orders not to proceed any farther. As our Reg^t^ Sat out from Albany 1 Day Before the rest, & our men being so Resolute to get forward that they gaind one Day of the rest of y^e^ Regiments extrodiay att. 12 o Clock that

[1] Isle La Motte, in Lake Champlain.

[2] St. John's is on the west bank of the Richelieu or Sorel River, Canada.

[3] Chambly, Canada.

Night we heard 2 Swiffles fire, which Alarm'd us, but we soon found that it was the Return of Cap^{t}. Stevens[1] from the 3 Rivers. Cap^{t}. Stevens with his Company of Artillery went from Cambridge with 2, — 13 inch Mortars, & went as far into Canada as 3th Rivers, & their Received orders to go back to Sorell.

$^{th}_{10.}$ A Battoe Arrived this morning, which Confirms the news of the Retreat, we hear that Gen^{l} Thomas is bringing up the Rear of the Army, & here we be in this Situation, & have Strict orders not to go Forward.

$^{th}_{11.}$ Battoe comes in, the men bring news that the Army want boats to Retreat with y^{e} Sick. we Immediately sent 10 Boats which was all y^{e} boats we had then went 50 men under y^{e} Command of Cap. Bent in those boats they went about 30 miles below 3th Rivers. then they put themselves into 2 Battoes, & Delivered the rest to the sick, as they were afraid of y^{e} small-Pox.

Sundy. $^{th}_{12.}$ the battoes Still Keep coming in Load'd with men Sick of the Small Pox. Such a Sunday I never saw, for to see the french Attend at mass, & very Strict in their Religion, all which seem'd to be Superstitious to us

$^{th}_{13.}$ Gen^{l}. Thomas not arrived we cant learn. whether he Determines to come to Sorell or Fortify Point d.Shambo.[2] 40 miles this Side of Quebec.

$^{th}_{14}$ Gen^{l}. Thomson with Gen^{l}. Arnold arrive here from Montreal. Nothing extreme to Day.

$^{th}_{15}$ 2 Vessels come from Montreal loaded with Provisions & Artillery Stores.

$^{th}_{16}$ We hear this Day that Gen^{l}. Thos. will soon arrive.

$^{th}_{17}$ Order's to day from Gen^{l}. Arnold for y^{e} Surgeon to Innoculate y^{e} men, to my Great Surprize.

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[1] Ebenezer Stevens, of the New York Artillery, was commissioned Captain of Artillery 6 December, 1775, and later became Major and Lieutenant-Colonel (Saffell's Records of the Revolutionary War, 1894, third edition, p. 155).

[2] Deschambault, about forty miles from Quebec.

th 18 this morning Cloudy, & very Cold for y^e^ Season Our Provision is very Short, brought to half an allowance.

th 19. Gen^l^. Thomas arrives, Steady & Calm he tells me he was Sorry that he had been so Deceiv'd in the Situation of our Army he likewise Informs me that they had a Council of War. Before Queb^c^. — & the Result was to Retreat to Point. d.Shambo, for they had not 1000 Effective men att. Queb^c^. their Camps being att Such a Distance from each Other, that it was Impossible to Collect any Number of men together

th 20 We have this Day orders to go to Montreal to have the Small pox, but as Soon as we Had Orders to have the Small pox the Officers & men were so eager to get it, that many of them would not wait till we got to Montreal, but Stole the Infection, & Innoculated each other.
we set off this afternoon for Montreal in Battoes, & Saild 15 miles.

th 21. Clear & very cold for the Season we set off early for Montreal. y^e^ wind a Head. Something of a Current. this is y^e^ River S^t^ Laurence From Sorell to Montreal which is very Pleaseant Setled thick on both Sides, y^e^ women are a Washing in this river like the Other we pass Several very fine mass, — Houses. we go now Some on the land the rest are in the Battoes, we meet two of the Cont^l^. Congress which Inform us of very bad news, that there was a Small Fort call'd the Cedars about 30 miles Above Montrl. they tell us it is taken by the Enemy, & all the men, & that Major Shearbon [1] went out with a party & they were all tak'n they likewise said that it was talked of at Montreal that Day at 12 o Clock, that y^e^ Inhabitants Intended to take arms that Night & Conquer our People they advise us to march Into town that Night as we were 15 miles off at Sun Down. the men are very much Fatigued. but As the case was Repre-

[1] Henry Sherburn, of Rhode Island, was commissioned a Major in General Paterson's Regiment (15th Continental Infantry) 1 January, 1776, taken prisoner at The Cedars, 20 May, made Major of the 1st Rhode Island Regiment 1 January, 1777, and Colonel of one of the additional Continental Regiments 12 January, 1777 (Heitman; Lossing's Field Book of the Revolution, i. 208; T. Egleston, Life of John Paterson, 1898, p. 87.)

sented to us In such a bad Situation, we exerted ourselves & went in, we arrived about 9, o'Clock at Night, very Dry & Cold for the season, the ground hard, which lamed some of y^e^ men Montreal was a much bigger City than I had any Idea of. we Remain'd in Montreal 2 Days. with very few men, and as the Enemy had taken Maj^r^. Shearbon with his party, & got the fort att the Cedars, we expected, an Attack every Hour.

th 21. A party of men arrive from Sorell Intending to go & retake the fort at. the Cedars.

th 22. the party Set off this Morning, under the Command of Col^o^. D. Haas,[1] & L^t^ Col^o^ Williams. they being 600, in N^o^ Went as far as Lasheene,[2] 6 miles from Montreal, there they tarry that Nigt

th 23. this morning set of with the addition of 300, more, under the command of Gen^l^. Arnold to go to the Cedars, they Came up to the enemy About Sun Sett the enemy on one Side of the River & they y^e^ Other, with our Prisoners th^t^ they took, in y^e^ evening they sent a flagg over to the Gen^l^ with proposals of exchanging Prisoners, as we took a Number of Prisoners att S^t^. Johns. the Enemy likewise told them that if they Pursued their measures, they would Destroy every one of our men that they had Prisoners att y^e^ Cedars The Gen^l^. Would not comply with it. the enemy sent another flagg at 12 o'Clock y^e^ Same Night, & Still said that they Would Destroy our Prisoners if we pursu'd them. then Gen^l^. Arnold setled the Cartel with them to exchange Prisoners & leave 4 Capt^s^. with them, as Hostiges but they soon Broke the Cartel in firing upon our men. the same Cartel was afterwards Carried to Congress but they Comply'd not with it. because the enemy fired upon our men after y^e^ Cartel was made, & broke it. but the Cartel was Astonishing

[1] John Philip De Haas of Pennsylvania had been appointed Colonel of the First Battalion of Pennsylvania Regulars 22 January, 1776, and the following year was made a Brigadier-General of the Continental Army. He retired to Philadelphia in 1779 and rendered no subsequent service. He died 3 June, 1786 (Heitman; Force's American Archives, Fourth Series, iv. 785, Fifth Series, ii. 615).

[2] Lachine.

to me, & had I have had an own Brother there, I should have been for Pursuing them, & taking them it was in the Gen^{l}'s Power to have taken them, & I Dont think that they Durst to have killed a Prisoner all to besaid of it is the fortune of War.

th 24. Clear & Pleaseant but very Cold for y^{e} season. Nothing Remarkable to Day.

th 25 Our Regiment are Still in Montreal In a very Poor Situation, our Officers & men are Breaking out with the Small Pox, & no other troops in the City but ours, & expecting every Night to be Attack'd I went the rounds almost every Night for a week, 6 to. 1. of our Number is in y^{e} City almost all against us & very Malicious but we Keep good Guard, & are Determin'd that if they Do rise, we will give them Good battle.

th 26. Nothing extraord^{y} to Day.

th 27. Gen^{l}. Arnold arrives from the Cedars brings news that there is a Cartel Consented to. by both Parties, & have exchang'd Prisoners.

th 28. this Morning Clear & Pleaseant, a Number of our Troops Return from the Cedars, we have this Day Orders to Go to St. Johns, to have, & Recruit of the small pox. Col^{o} Greaton Marches this Day with part of the Reg^{t}. for S^{t}. Johns. y^{e} reason of the Whole Reg^{t}'s not going to day is for want of Battoes. the Gen^{l} sends to me to Night about 11 o'Clock that he had had Information by friends that the Inhabitants Intended to take us that Night, likewise said to me. to do the best I could. I accordingly went & awoke all the Soldiers, & made them Dress themselves & Load their Guns Lying on their arms to be ready Instantly. I told them further if they Did take us, it should not be for Nothing I then went the rounds, & to the Guards Doubled the Centinels, giving them orders to fire upon any Person that Did not give a good account of himself.

th 29. This morning Clear & Pleaseant but Cold, & Dry for the season. Col^{o} Stark with Col^{o} Read Arrive here from S^{t}. Johns with part of their Regiments the Gen^{l}. Orders that the

Remainder of Col. Greatons Regt. go Immediately to St. Johns. & that I must tarry for he could not spare me, I send the Regt. off as soon as I can, an express arrive from Shambly to Montreal, & Informs us that Genl. Thomas Died last evening.

th 30. The Genl orders me this morning to go to Shambly, as soon as I got to Shambly I met Genl. Sullivan,[1] to my great Joy, & as I talked with the Genl. he gave me orders not, to go to St. Johns. to tarry, only to get Colo Greaton, with the rest of the officers, that were fit for Duty, & push for Sorell as Quick as Possible.

th 31 Our Regt is now at the worst with ye S. Pox, No more well than enough, to tend ye Sick. Colo Greaton with my self went only with each of us a waiter, we set off for Sorell, go to Shambly & overtake Colo Stark,[2] with part of his Regt we are in Company together on the way to Sorell we lodge this Night, about 10 miles below Shambly.

June th 1st Fair this morning Clear & Pleaseant fair wind, & we set sail for Sorell — Arrive at Sorell 3, o'Clock, Just as we arrive, Genl. Thomson[3] was in readiness to march. to the 3 Rivers with 700 men to meet the enemy, also he was to Join 700 men more att St. Fransway's,[4] & Proceed to the 3 Rivers, which is about 90 miles this side of Quebec, as they said, there was 4. or 500. of Regulars which had there been no more our Troops would have taken them with ease. But our troops were mislead by a Pilot after they landed, & went from their Battoes which much Disappointed them, for as they Intended to have took the enemy under Surprise, in the Night, they were keep marching in a Swamp till after Sun-rise, all very unlucky for us, for ye Night before there

[1] Gen. John Sullivan of New Hampshire, then a Brigadier-General in the Continental Army.

[2] Gen. John Stark of New Hampshire was at this time Colonel of the 5th Continental Infantry.

[3] William Thompson had been Colonel of the Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment, and was made Brigadier-General of the Continental Infantry 1 March, 1776. He was taken prisoner 8 June, 1776, and exchanged 25 October, 1780. He died 3 September, 1781 (Heitman).

[4] The reference is probably to St. François.

came 6, or 8 Vessels up as far as, 3, Rivers, and the Instant our People came in Sight, they landed their men from the Shipping, which made their Numbers, vastly Superior to ours, there was a Shot or two on each Side, & our People Retreated, but the Retreat, was so bad, their, being under Such bad Circumstances, that the enemy took Gen! Thomson, with about 120 more.

th 2d. This morning fair and Clear, Nothing Remarkable to Day.

th 3d. Cold & Dry nothing Remarkable to Day.

th 4. Clear & Pleaseant, we hear that the Soldiers will be in to morrow from 3 Rivrs

th 5 the Battoes arrive that went for 3 Rivers the Soldiers march by land. N. remark!e

th 6. they arrive about 6 miles from Sorell. Where we send the Battoes after them bring them to sorell.

th 7. this morning clear & Pleasent, we begin to fortify with a great Deal of expedition.

th 8. this Day 500 men are ordered upon Fatigue, with the Greatest expedition.

th 9. 500 men this Day Fortifying at Sorell

th 10. Still go on fortifying.

th 11 We have this Day news the enemy are a going to Montreal by us & not attack us, the Gen! this Night calls a Council of war of all the field Officers there is upon y^e^ Ground. the Chief of the Counsil were for Retreating, I among the Small Number for Staying.

th 12. this morning left the Works att Sorell, & Retreated to Shambly. Bringing all Stores, & left nothing.

th 13 We move our Stores from Shambly to S!. Johns, as fast as Possible. the Rapids exceeding bad to get the Battoes over, & caus'd much work with Difficulty to do it.

th 14 Reported that the Enemy are very nigh us, the Gen!. sends me this morning to a Place called Centras, half way, Between Shambly, & S!. Johns, with Strict orders that no Officer or man should pass, till all the Artillery Store & Baggage were got forward

th 15 this morning the Rear march from Shambly with all their baggage, to Centras. from there I Bring the rear to S! Johns.

th 16. this Day we send our Sick & Artillery Stores To the Isle of Mott.

th 17 We have this morning a Council of war the Council Determines to Retreat to the Isle of Noix[1] with all Stores, & from thence to Crown Point as Quick as possible. we tarry to the Isle of Noix till we can get our Sick to Crown Point, & our Artillery Stores to the Isle of Mott.

th 18. our Boats are not Returned from C. Point

th 19. Boats not Returnd yet.

th 20. Some Part of our boats Return, for more Stores.

th 21. Our Boats Do not arrive.

th 22. this Morning Clear & Pleaseant, about 8, o'Clock there set off. 7. Officers 4 Privates to go about half a mild across the lake to get some Beer, they went without arms, & entered the House Close to the lake. but there was Indians, lay In Ambush, & rose upon them, Killed 4 & Scalped them they also took the rest. the Gen!. Sent a Party over as Quick as Possible, but the Indians were gone our People Brought over back again, the Dead men that were Scalped 2 officers, & 2 Privates. Such a Sight I never beheld with my eyes as to see men Scalped.

th 23 this Day it is Reported that there was 2 boats coming from the Isle of Mott to the Isle of Noix, they went on shore about 9 miles from the Isle of Noix after Some Necessaries,

[1] Isle Aux Noix, in the Sorel.

the Indians came upon them out of the woods, killed & took, about one half of them, the rest got. Into a boat & pushed for the Isle of Mott the other Boat Floated alone, & came Down to the Isle of Noix, with one Dead man in it.

th 24. the talk this morning is that we shall not get off. to Day. our boats are not come, & the enemy on both sides of us.

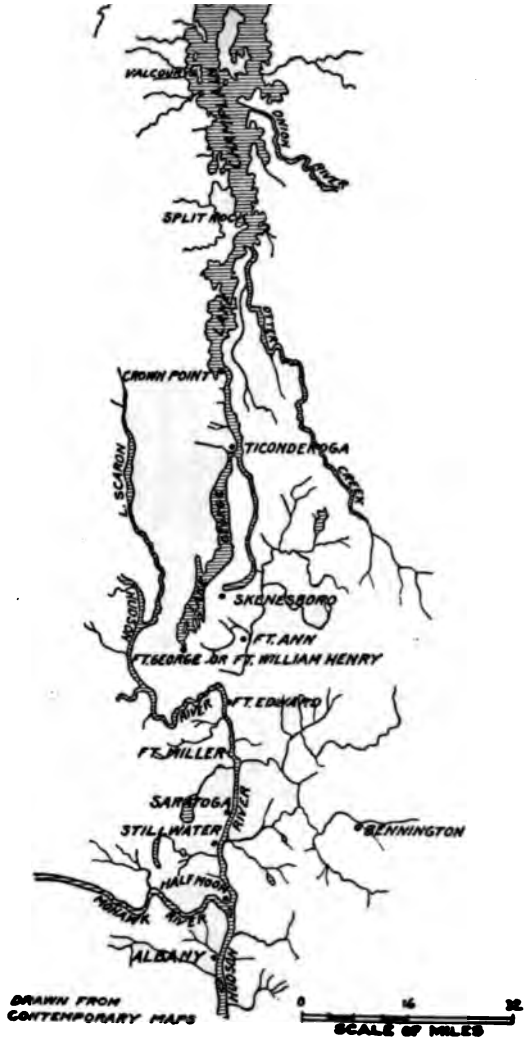
th 25. We Still Remain, & the Boats do not Return.

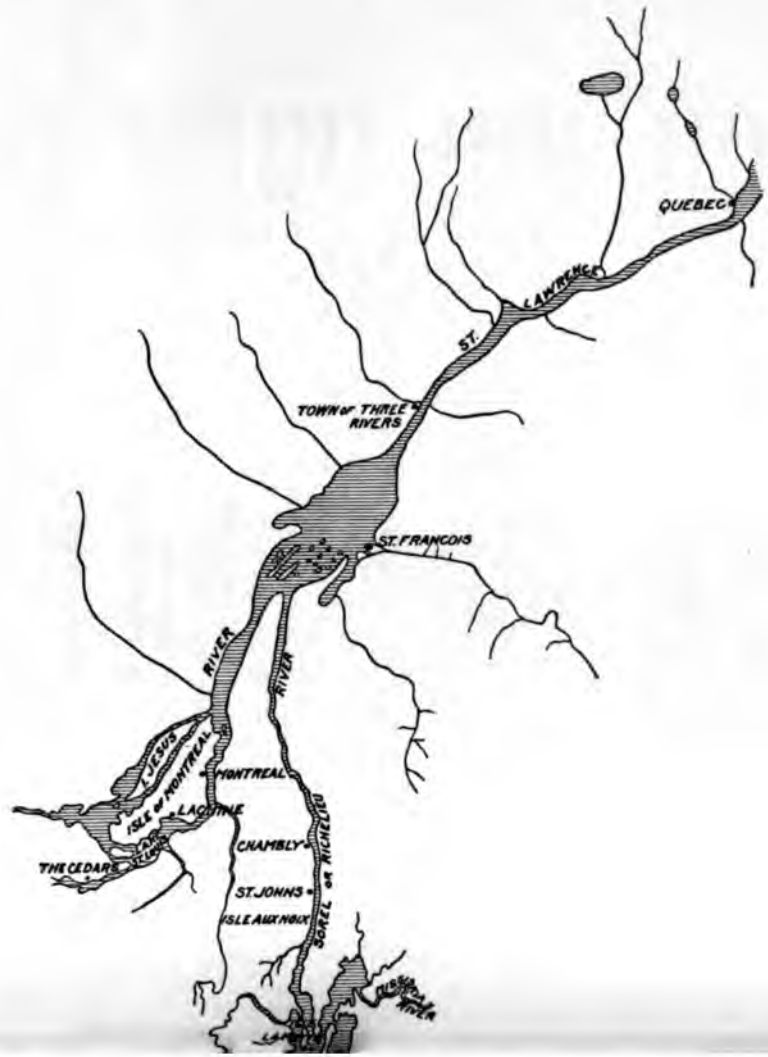
th 26 We remain under the same Circumstances.

th 27 Our Boats appear in sight, & come, we Load our baggage & their is not boats Enough to take us all in. 12 Hundred of us, are Obliged to march by land. We set off. att 12, o'Clock, under the Commd. of Colº Wayn,[1] Colº Greaton in front Majr. Morgan in the Center, Colº Porter & myself, brought up the Rear, We all expect, that the enemy have laid in wait for us, we have 1200 the best of Troops, & are Determined if we meet with them, to cut them off. Root, & Branch, we crost the river in Battoes & marched about 5 miles then we come to where the men was killed a Day or two before, we there burn, 2 Dwelling Houses, 1 Saw mill, & one Grist Mill. Which belonged to a torey, where the men were Killed, & Scalpt, as I wish every torey's house was burn'd upon yᵉ Continent he being gone off to the enemy we could not catch him, we had orders to take yᵉ Cattle with us, my bringing up the Rear Guard, we Drove the Cattle on side of the lake, I went in among the Cattle with a Hatchet & Knocked Down 10 of them, & Stuck them, in less than 10, Minutes the men hove them into the Battoes. — 2 Cows, & calves, I put on board alive. We then Pursued our march, with our front flank, & Rear Guards, about 6 miles farther, worse travilling men never travailled, it rains exceeding hard, & Night comes on, which makes it very Dark, we are Alarm'd about 11, o'Clock att Night, but soon find it is only some of our flank guard, that had got lost, in the woods

th 28 We rise very early this morning, & go Down to our Battoes. Dress the Beef that we had Killed yᵉ Day before — Cooked

[1] Gen. Anthony Wayne, at this time Colonel of the 4th Pennsylvania Battalion.


VALCOUR
SPLIT ROCK
CROWN POINT
TICONDEROGA
L. SCARON
SKENESBORO
FT. ANN
FT. GEORGE OR FT. WILLIAM HENRY
FT. EDWARD
FT. MILLER
SARATOGA
STILLWATER
BENNINGTON
HALF MOON
ALBANY
DRAWN FROM CONTEMPORARY MAPS
0
16
32
SCALE OF MILES


QUEBEC
ST.
TOWN of THREE RIVERS
ST. FRANCOIS
RIVER
RIVER
JESUS
ISLE of MONTREAL
MONTREAL
LACHINE
CHAMBLY
THE CEDARS
ST. JOHNS
ISLE AUX NOIX
SOREL or RICHELIEU

some of it, & eat. it is the first fresh beef that we have eat this 2. Months Our Boats arrives from the Isle of Mott to us about 11, o Clock, then we went into y^e^ Battoes & set off for Point, aufare, about 8 miles from the Isle of mott, we came to Point Aufare, burned a large torey House took in a number of our troops, & went to the Isle of mott.

th 29. We load all our Battoes, with Artillery Stores & Provisions, sett out about 3, o Clock with 100 battoes, in 4 Divisions, went about 12 miles that afternoon we past the vessels that had the Artillery Stores Provisions &c. before Night.

th 30 We set off again early this morning for Crownt-Point, & go abot 20 miles where there is a number of families lives. Friends to us we there tarry for the Vessels to come up. but they Do not heave in Sight. orders, from the Gen^l^ Just before Night. for me with Col^o^ M^c^Field to take 500, men. go Down & bring up the Vessels, we go Down in the Night, & Come up with one of them, but it was very Dark, & she had like to fired upon us thinking it was her enemy. We went on Shore upon one of the Islands & tarry all Night.

July th 1st. Gen^l^ Sullivan with the army set off for Crown Point from Gilliland's Creeck. we tarried with the Vessels, & came that Night up to Split Rock where there were a Number of the Inhabitants. Durst not tarry for fear of Indians, & came with us to C. Point. we make a tarry here this Night below Split rock

th 2d. this morning we rise by times, & put 70 Head of Cattle on board of the battoes & Vessels, we then set out for Crown. Point being a Calm we have to toe the Vessels which makes it late before we get to Crown Point. I have now arrived att Crown Point. there never was a grander Retreat made, than what we made from Sorell, to Crown Point, all the way, for I brought up the rear myself all the way, & know very well, therefore you may hear what Stories you will it is the truth what I tell you.

but Canada has been a very unfortunate Place for Generals. Gen^l^ Thomas Died with the small Pox, Gen^l^ Thomson Taken Prisoner, Gen^l^ Sullivan has Resign'd & Gone from us, which I am very sorry for. Our troops are now Chiefly at Ticon-

deroga, fortifying that, & on an Hill Close by. A very Good Place, some part of our Troops are att Crown Point we have 4. arm'd Vessels upon the lake, we have 4 Gundeloes built, & 4 more building for which I think we shall Command the lake without any Difficulty, each Gundelow, Carries 4 Guns. our Army Is now about 4000. Strong our Sick are moved to fort George. I understand there is a large Numbr. of troops a Coming, but I am Sorry there is any troops a Coming before our times are out. that they might take our Places. I shall send you the Remainder of the Journal as soon as I have opportunity. the Particulars, concerning the retreat from Quebec, to Sorell, I will send you in the next Journal, so that you may know it is not so bad as you have heard

The Hon. MARCUS PERRIN KNOWLTON, LL.D., of Springfield and Mr. JAMES ATKINS NOYES of Cambridge were elected Resident Members, and BENJAMIN FRANKLIN STEVENS, L.H.D., of London, England, a Corresponding Member.

In the absence of Mr. ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS, Mr. EDES communicated a Memoir of ROBERT NOXON TOPPAN, which Mr. Davis had been requested to prepare for publication in the Transactions.

Robert Noxon Toppan

Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
from a portrait from life

MEMOIR

OF

ROBERT NOXON TOPPAN, A.M.

BY

ANDREW McFARLAND DAVIS.

At the third Stated Meeting of this Society, in March, 1893, Robert Noxon Toppan was elected a Resident Member. He had at that time already laid the foundation for the reputation which he afterward acquired for thorough and scholarly historical work, so that he was welcomed to our fellowship as a desirable addition. During the period of his membership his fame as an investigator and as a careful and diligent student of historical facts steadily grew, and to this was finally added full recognition as a discriminating and conscientious editor through the publication, in 1898 and 1899, by the Prince Society, of his Edward Randolph. His contribution to our proceedings of two brief but learned papers, — The Right to Coin under the Colonial Charters, read at the February Meeting in 1894, and The Failure to Establish an Hereditary Political Aristocracy in the Colonies, communicated in March, 1897 — aided materially in establishing his name as an historical student. With the growth of knowledge of his capacity on our part, came the desire that the Society should profit by it, not only through communications at our meetings, but also through service in the body of officers to whom is intrusted the management of our affairs. Conservative in temperament, prudent, cautious and conscientious in all his actions, he was eminently fitted to act as an adviser in such a body, and the selection of his name as a candidate for member of our Council was endorsed by the Society

with cordial recognition of the fitness of the nomination. His unexpected death on the tenth of May, 1901, came as a shock to the community. Those who knew him best and who were most familiar with the work which he had performed, best know what we had a right to expect from him in the future, and can best appreciate our loss.

Mr. Toppan was born in Philadelphia on the seventeenth of October, 1836. It seems almost a pity that one can not substitute Newburyport for Philadelphia, and thus be able to say that he was the sixth Toppan in the direct line of male descent from Abraham Toppan to be born in Newbury or Newburyport. Charles Toppan, his father, who was born there in 1796, had not, however, the same mental characteristics as his four predecessors of the name of Toppan. He was gifted with a natural capacity for sketching and was fond of art and of travel. Life in Newburyport under these circumstances was not congenial to his disposition and he moved to Philadelphia, where, at the early age of eighteen years, he formed a connection with a firm of bank-note engravers, thus laying the foundation for a prosperous career which culminated in his being selected as President of the American Bank Note Company in 1858, at which time the more prominent of the bank-note engravers of the country consolidated their forces by the organization of this company.

In 1826, Charles Toppan married Laura Ann Noxon, a daughter of Doctor Robert Noxon of Poughkeepsie, New York, after whom their son Robert Noxon Toppan was named. In 1852, the family went abroad and remained until 1854. They then moved to New York, where they established a home which they occupied until Mr. Charles Toppan resigned the presidency of the American Bank Note Company in 1860, and again went abroad, where he remained until his death, at Florence, Italy, in 1874.

Robert's early education was begun in private schools in Philadelphia. When he reached the point of preparing for college, he studied under a private tutor with a view to entering Yale College. His course of study was, however, interrupted by his joining the family in their migration to Europe in 1852. During this trip he was for a brief space of time at a boarding school in Paris. On his return to this country, in 1854, Robert renewed his studies under a tutor, but this time with a view to entering Harvard Col-

lege, which he accomplished in 1855, gaining admission to the Sophomore Class. In 1858, he graduated with rank high enough to secure his election to the Φ. B. K., and then joined his family in New York. It was his desire at that time to follow in the footsteps of his father. Whether the next move that he made was in the line of that desire, or indicates an abandonment of the purpose, it is difficult to say, but as a matter of fact, instead of entering the service of the American Bank Note Company, he enrolled himself at the Columbia Law School and simultaneously entered a down-town law office as a student. This Law School was then in its infancy and the methods of instruction permitted — perhaps it may be said that for a time they encouraged — this course. Robert was not alone in it; many of his fellow students did the same. He took his LL.B. from Columbia College in May, 1861, and on the fourth of June of the same year was admitted to the New York Bar. It can hardly be said that he ever entered upon active practice in New York, but for a short time he had a desk in the office of his relative Mr. Samuel B. Ruggles.

In 1862, Mr. Toppan published a translation of certain selections from Jouffroy's *Mélanges Philosophiques* and *Cours de Droit Naturel* under the title of Moral Philosophy: Extracts from Jouffroy. These extracts taken together, says the translator in his Preface, —

> " form a complete whole. The first lays down the problem of human destiny, and shows that the problem can only be solved philosophically by a study of the facts of human nature. The second gives a description of the moral facts of human nature. The moral facts of human nature being ascertained, the third gives us the moral law that we ought to obey, in order to accomplish as fully as possible our destiny in this world."

Jouffroy was a pupil of Cousin and it is said that being uncertain about the enigma of our destiny, yet detesting incredulity, he was " resolute to solve the question by the light of reason, since he had lost that of faith." The moral problem which is laid down in these extracts is given by the translator as follows: —

> " What I ought to do, is to go toward my end; what every intelligent and free being ought to do is to proceed toward his end; in advancing toward it this intelligent and free being and myself not only do what we

ought to do, go toward our good, but we contribute also to the realization of absolute good, which appears to be made up of the accomplishment of all the particular ends of all the beings composing the creation.

"This, gentlemen, is my solution of the moral problem. I said, that not only is this solution manifest, but that a method results from it to determine for all beings known to us in what good consists, and consequently what we ought to do; and therefore the rule of our conduct in all possible cases."

It happens that the copy of Moral Philosophy: Extracts from Jouffroy on the shelves of the Library of Harvard University is the one which was presented by the translator to Dr. James Walker. The generation of Harvard students which came under the influence of that remarkable teacher is now passing away, but the tradition of his great personal ascendancy and of the sway that he exerted over the lives of his pupils is still fresh. It is perhaps too much to assert that this recent graduate, in thus sending to his former preceptor these extracts from Jouffroy, desired to show him that escape from personal contact had not released him from the beneficent influences exerted by his presence; but at least we can say that the rule of his life was to be found in the moral law laid down by Jouffroy, and that he always did his part toward contributing to the realization of absolute good.

The same year that the translation from Jouffroy was published, Robert closed his desk in Mr. Ruggles's law office and joined the family in Europe. For many years he remained there, journeying from city to city, a spectator here of some great festival or pageant, a participant there in some great historical event. His mind was stored with reminiscences connected with current affairs in Eastern Europe, covering the gamut from *coups d'état* in Paris, to the peaceful election of a Pope in Rome; from the glittering and gorgeous display of the Empire in the days of its supreme power in the capital city of France, to the havoc and distress upon the battle-field of Sedan, where the Empire breathed its last, which he visited while yet the dead were unburied and many of the wounded uncared for. He became, of course, a proficient linguist and when in Madrid was tendered the position of Secretary of Legation by the Hon. John P. Hale, then our Minister at the Spanish Court. This office seemed to him to

open up a career for which his contact with the European world appeared eminently to have fitted him, and he gladly accepted it. An unfortunate attack of illness prevented him from entering upon his duties, however, and to his great disappointment, he was obliged to give up the place. If we bear in mind the influence of his father's artistic temperament upon his tastes, and take into consideration the extraordinary opportunities which he had enjoyed for travel and for acquiring different languages, we can realize that a diplomatic career must have seemed tempting to him and can appreciate how great the blow which closed what seemed to offer an opening to enter upon such a career.

During his entire stay in Europe, Mr. Toppan maintained close touch with his native land, through the necessity for frequent visits upon matters of business. He always had a fondness for Newburyport, and when, a few years after the death of his father, he returned to this country, he made his headquarters at that place. On the sixth of October, 1880, he was married there to Sarah Moody Cushing, the daughter of the Hon. William Cushing of Newburyport. The marriage was followed by another trip to Europe, after which Mr. and Mrs. Toppan lived for about a year in Newburyport. In 1882, they moved to Cambridge, where he afterward built a house for his family, in which they now reside.

Mr. Toppan's interest in Newburyport was, of course, based upon the fact that his ancestors had lived there. He was much concerned in the history of his own family and incidentally in the history of the town. He was proud of the record of the town and welcomed the efforts of its people to keep alive a knowledge of their past. These efforts were at that time fairly represented by the work of the Historical Society of Old Newbury, an organization having a membership of representative men of the place, all of whom felt kindly towards the purposes of the organization, but none of whom had interest enough in the subject to enter actively upon the work of the Society, or to spur others on to do what he himself did not care to undertake. The spasm of energy which had led to the establishment of the Society was followed by a period of torpor after the enthusiasm of the founders had subsided. Mr. Toppan deliberately set himself to work to revive the interest of Newburyport people in historical work and to stimulate the Society into some sort of activity. Largely through

his personal influence, a room for the use of the Society was secured in the Public Library building. He cast about for some means of interesting his fellow-members in active work, and it occurred to him that it would be a good idea to secure from each person whose family was entitled to a coat of arms, a shield upon which those arms should be emblazoned. The act of looking up the question would set each member of the Society at work and the shields, when obtained, could be used to decorate the hall in which they met. This ingenious idea was actually carried out and fully realized the hopes of its originator.

Mr. Toppan's position in political affairs was one of sympathy with every movement which tended to elevate the morals of the country or to reform recognized evils existing in our form of government. Being absolutely without political ambition, he held a position of indifference to partisan questions and ever stood ready to co-operate, with personal service or with purse, in the strife for determining, upon broad grounds of principle, the various political questions which arose during his period of manhood. He believed that political science was worthy of study and that the world would be benefited if educated men should turn their attention towards the solution of its problems. With the purpose of carrying out these views, he consulted with Professor Torrey and, in 1880, forwarded to the Treasurer of Harvard College one hundred and fifty dollars, "to be used as a prize or prizes, to be awarded in 1881, on Political Science, in the graduate department of the University." From year to year thereafter he repeated this gift, until 1894, when he deposited three thousand dollars with the Treasurer of the College, as a fund for the annual offer of a prize for essays on Political Science, and the Toppan Prize then became one of the annual prizes of the University. Owing to occasional lapses in the bestowal of the prize, the fund has increased to nearly thirty-five hundred dollars. This serves as a compensation for the reduction of interest carried by the general fund and practically guarantees the accomplishment in the future of the wish of the founder, — that the amount offered annually for the Toppan Prize shall be one hundred and fifty dollars.

Mr. Toppan's publications, if we exclude the translation of Jouffroy and a single paper on Bank Note Engraving, may be divided into two classes: those dealing with the subject of money,

and those which treat of topics connected with our local history. All, however, are distinctly historical in character. In dealing with them it will perhaps be more in consonance with the methods employed herein to classify them under these headings than to describe them in chronological succession. In treating of money, we should naturally expect that one whose material interests were so closely associated with bank note engraving, would have selected for study that branch of the subject which deals with paper-money. Such, however, was not the case. Circumstances turned his attention toward the questions of what would be the best metal for use in a uniform international coinage and what would be the best unit for such a coinage. The various papers which he published on these questions were put forth while the struggle between gold and silver was in progress in this country, and his participation in this controversy furnishes illustration of what I have already said concerning his readiness to co-operate in the determination of political questions upon the basis of principle. His views upon the questions under discussion were clear and well defined and would, perhaps, through their own force have led him to take up his pen in their advocacy, but if he needed stimulation he found it in the sympathetic attitude of his friend and relative, Mr. Ruggles, in whose office he at one time had a desk, who was then Chairman of the Committee of the New York Chamber of Commerce on International Coinage, and who as a delegate had already advocated the twenty-five franc piece as a unit for such a coinage, at the International Statistical Congress at Berlin in 1863, and again at the Monetary Congress at Paris in 1867. Mr. Toppan's first publication on the subject of Money was in the form of a letter, in 1877, addressed to Mr. Ruggles as Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce Committee on International Coinage. It was published by the Chamber of Commerce under the title of The Historical Succession of Monetary Metallic Standards.

In 1878, Mr. Toppan was a delegate to the International Congress for the Unification of Weights and Measures and Money. We have no record of any communication from him to that body, but in December of that year he submitted to the American Social Science Association a communication in advocacy of the adoption of a unit previously proposed by himself for an International Coin-

age. This paper was published in 1879, under the title of A Unit of Eight Grammes, proposed by Robert Noxon Toppan. He reverted to the subject in April, 1880, when he read a paper before the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, which was published by that Society, under the title of Some Modern Monetary Questions viewed by the Light of Antiquity.

In 1884, he took up the subject again and published a little book entitled Historical Summary of Metallic Money. In this he gives the names of the several authors upon whom he had relied for information concerning both ancient and modern monetary systems. This volume may be said to be the most complete and the most ambitious of his several publications on Money.

In 1888, he read a paper before the American Antiquarian Society at its April meeting in Boston, which was published in the Proceedings of that Society, and was also separately printed under the title of Monetary Unification.

In all these papers he was the advocate of a single standard, which, in his opinion, could be only gold. He believed that there was a tendency towards unification, but that on account of national prejudices and jealousies no existing coin could be adopted as the International Unit. In the coinage of all nations which had made use of gold, he found some coin which approximated closely to our five-dollar piece. Inasmuch as it was not probable that either the sovereign, the twenty-five franc piece, the twenty-mark piece, or the five-dollar gold piece could be adopted, by reason of national jealousies, he proposed a compromise unit which should weigh eight even grammes and which should be nine-tenths fine. While this would not agree with any existing coin, it would closely approximate one of the coins in use in each of the prominent monetary systems of the world, and its adoption would cause but little disturbance to values, and would entirely eliminate the question of national prejudices. The discussion of the subject carried on in these various publications, indicates extensive research and scholarly attainments. I have already stated that all were historical in their treatment of the subject. Without undertaking to go into detail upon this point, it will be sufficient to recall the titles of these papers to show the extent of the work of this nature necessarily performed in some of them, by the writer.

Mr. Toppan's first contribution towards our local history was

a set of biographical sketches of the natives and residents of Old Newbury, Massachusetts, prepared for the celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of the town, in response to a resolution of the Historical Society of Old Newbury. He was restrained to brevity by the words of the resolution, and, in some cases, still further by the meagreness of the details which could be found concerning some of the characters; but he succeeded in getting together a series of sketches of great value as a contribution toward the local history of Newbury; and they were creditable to the writer. They were published by the Society under the title of Brief Biographical Sketches. For some reason, the volume does not contain any sketch of the life of Edward Rawson, one of the early settlers of the town and one of the proprietors of 1642. Mr. Toppan left a manuscript sketch of the life of Rawson, which was read at a subsequent meeting of the Society.

The two papers read by Mr. Toppan before this Society in 1894 and 1897 have already been mentioned. Their titles sufficiently indicate the interesting character of their contents, and it only remains to say, that although both are brief, they are representative in the thorough and systematic character of the researches upon which they are based.

During the years 1898 and 1899, the Prince Society issued the five volumes comprising the work entitled by the Society in its calendar, Edward Randolph, and more specifically described upon the title-pages in the volumes as "Edward Randolph: Including his Letters and Official Papers from the New England, Middle, and Southern Colonies in America, with other Documents relating chiefly to the vacating of the Royal Charter of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, 1676–1703. With Historical Illustrations and a Memoir." The Memoir, which is comprised in the first volume and in the first half of the second, is the most extensive and most elaborate historical production from Mr. Toppan's pen. It is based largely upon the documents and letters contained in the volumes which succeed it, and is worthy of its place at the front of this work. Like the Randolph papers, it is profusely annotated with helpful cross-references, explanatory notes, and notes containing additional information. The whole work bears evidence of patient labor, diligent research, and scholarly knowledge of the

subject. For several years, while engaged in preparing these papers for publication, Mr. Toppan was occupied in the study of the papers themselves and of the contemporary literature on both sides of the Atlantic which could throw light upon the subject, or upon the lives of the men mentioned in the papers. The student of these volumes has the benefit of this protracted study, the result of which is one of the best edited series of papers to be found among the many which treat of the history of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay. Mr. Toppan himself might well have been content to rest his reputation as an historical student and an editor upon this publication alone, and he had every reason to be proud of its reception by students of American history.

Mr. Toppan rounded out his work in this line by communicating to the American Antiquarian Society in October, 1899, a copy of a fragment of the Records of the Andros Council, which is in Randolph's handwriting and is now in that Society's possession; and by communicating to the following April meeting a copy of the official transcript of the Andros Records in the form in which they were transmitted to London. Both of these documents were published in the Society's Proceedings. He also communicated to the Massachusetts Historical Society, at its meeting in November, 1899, a copy of the Records of the Council meetings under President Joseph Dudley; and these were in turn published in the Proceedings of that Society. The importance of this work will be realized if it be remembered that the published Records of the Massachusetts Colony end in 1686. The Records of the Province have never been published, but the edition of the Province Laws, edited by our associate Mr. Abner C. Goodell, partially covers this defect. These laws do not begin, however, until 1692. In the progress of his work, Mr. Toppan's attention was called to this lamentable gap in our State publications, and in this easy manner he rendered a service of great importance to students of American history.

There still remains one publication of Mr. Toppan which I have hitherto mentioned only casually. In 1896, he read before the Trustees of the American Bank Note Company, a paper which was published under the title of A Hundred Years of Bank Note Engraving. His scholarly methods of research were so much a part of his every effort, that even in this paper, which was not prepared

for a learned Society, one can recognize their effect upon him. In it he touches briefly upon what was then known of the early banks of New England and afterward gives an account of the different bank note engravers of America and of the several inventions which have modified the process of engraving and printing.

At the time of his death, Mr. Toppan was a member of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, the American Historical Association, the American Antiquarian Society, the American Philosophical Society, the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, the Massachusetts Historical Society, the New England Historic Genealogical Society, the Bunker Hill Monument Association, of which he was a Director, and the Prince Society, of which he was Corresponding Secretary.

I have failed in what I have written, if my account of Mr. Toppan's life and work does not bring before the reader the picture of one who was faithful in the performance of every trust which he assumed. Modest and unpretentious in his deportment, simple and manly in his ways, he trod the path of life with an ever enlarging circle of friends whose respect and esteem for him increased with their intimacy and their knowledge of his doings.

JANUARY MEETING, 1902.

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at No. 25 Beacon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 23 January, 1902, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE, LL.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that letters had been received from Mr. Justice KNOWLTON of Springfield and Mr. JAMES ATKINS NOYES of Cambridge accepting Resident Membership, and from BENJAMIN FRANKLIN STEVENS, L.H.D., of London, England, accepting Corresponding Membership.

Mr. WILLIAM C. LANE exhibited two large water-color views by D. Bell, one of Cambridge Common from Christ Church, the other of the College Buildings, Christ Church, and the First Church when it stood between the Dane Law School and Wadsworth House. These pictures, which have recently been given to Harvard University, must have been drawn between 1805 and 1810.[1]

Mr. LANE also exhibited the original Journal of Captain Henry Hamilton, covering the period from 6 August, 1778, to 16 June, 1779, kept during an expedition from Detroit to Vincennes, and read extracts from it. Mr. Lane illustrated the progress of Hamilton's march by a valuable map of the Northwestern part of the United States drawn and engraved about 1787 by John Fitch, the inventor. The Journal has recently been given to the Library of Harvard University by

[1] See an article by Mr. Lane in the Harvard Graduates' Magazine for March, 1904, xii. 349–358. Photographic plates of Bell's views will be found facing pp. 341, 355.

a collateral descendant of Captain Hamilton, residing in Ireland.[1]

Mr. ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS expressed the opinion that the Journal was of great value and hoped that it would be printed.[2]

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS said that he had listened with interest to Mr. Lane's remarks about the charges of cruelty against Hamilton brought by the Americans, and observed:

Similar charges against the British occur again and again in American documents of the day, and, usually accompanied by opprobrious epithets, have been repeated by American writers and historians. The evidence offered, however, is far from conclusive.[3] On the other hand, acts of barbarity unquestionably committed by the Americans are unknown to many of our historians, or if known have generally been passed over without comment. Yet it is unfortunately only too true that cruel practices were indulged in by the Americans.

For several generations before the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, the Legislatures of different Colonies had offered bounties for Indian scalps. Indeed, so common were these bounties that they popularly acquired the gruesome but eminently appropriate designation of "scalp-money." Whether the British authorities did or did not offer money rewards for American scalps, it is certain that the Americans themselves did give bounties for Indian scalps during the Revolution. On 27 September, 1776, a Committee recommended to the South Carolina Assembly the following rewards:

For every Indian man killed, upon certificate thereupon given by the Commanding Officer, and the scalp produced as evidence thereof in Charlestown by the forces in the pay of the State, seventy-five pounds

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[1] See Mr. Lane's remarks at the March meeting, pp. 331–336, below.

[2] It is to be printed by Harvard University.

[3] For a note on bounties for scalps, containing an interesting and judicial investigation into the charges against Hamilton, see the Narrative and Critical History of America, vi. 681–684. This note was written by our associate Mr. Andrew McF. Davis.

currency; For every Indian man prisoner one hundred pounds like money.[1]

I do not know whether these recommendations were acted upon in South Carolina, but it is certain that similar recommendations were made and carried out in Pennsylvania. President Joseph Reed was earnestly in favor of giving bounties for scalps, but feared that the plan might be deemed improper. In April, 1779, he sounded Lieutenant-Colonel Archibald Lochry on the subject, who thus replied May first:

You desire, sir, in your letter, if the Inhabitants on the Frontiers would desire a reward on Indian scalps. — I have consulted with a number on this head, who all seem of opinion that a reward for scalps would be of excellent use at this time, and would give spirit and alacrity to our young men, and make it their Interest to be constantly on the scout.[2]

In the succeeding July Reed wrote Colonel Daniel Brodhead as follows:

We have sounded Congress & the General about giving a Reward for Scalps, but there is so evident a reluctance on the Subject, & an Apprehension that it may be improved by our Enemies to a national Reproach, that at present we cannot venture to make any authoritative Offers; but as we have great Confidence in your Judgment & Discretion, must leave it to you to act therein as they shall direct.[3]

These objections proved ineffectual and on 8 April, 1780, the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania took action:

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[1] Quoted by Mr. Davis (*Ibid.* vi. 682) from the American Archives, Fifth Series, iii. 32. Mr. Davis does not quote the extracts given in the text.

[2] Pennsylvania Archives, vii. 362. Compare with Lochry's statement the following extract from the Boston News-Letter of 22–29 April, 1729, No. 1109:

James Cochran the Youth that came into Brunswick Fort with the Two Scalps, came to Town on Monday last, and on Tuesday produced the said Scalps before the Honourable the Lieutenant Governor and Council, for which he Received a Reward of Two Hundred Pounds: And for a further Encouragement to Young Men & others to perform Bold & Hardy Actions in this Indian War, His Honour the Lieut. Governor has been pleased to make him a Serjeant in the Forces (p. 2/1).

In some of the Colonies there was a regular scale of prices, — so much for a man's scalp, so much for a woman's scalp, so much for a child's scalp.

[3] Pennsylvania Archives, vii. 569, 570.

The Board took into consideration the state of the frontiers, and particularly the propriety of offering a reward for Prisoners & Scalps. Whereupon, it was agreed to authorize the Lieutenant of Northumberland to offer fifteen hundred dollars for every white or Indian prisoner, if the former is acting with the latter, and for every Indian Scalp, one thousand dollars.[1]

On the eleventh of April a letter was written Colonel Peter Kachlein, Lieutenant of Northumberland County, authorizing him "to offer fifteen hundred dollars for every Indian or Tory Prisoner, and one thousand dollars for every Indian scalp;"[2] and on the twenty-second of April it was —

Ordered, That a reward of three thousand dollars for every Indian Prisoner or Tory acting in arms with them, and a reward of two thousand five hundred dollars for every Indian scalp, to be paid on an Order of the President or Vice President in Council, to be paid on certificate signed by the Lieutenant or any two Sub-Lieutenants of the county, in conjunction with any two freeholders, of the service performed, such reward to be in lieu of all other rewards or emoluments to be claimed from the State.[3]

These bounties were slow in bringing about the desired result, and in July Reed wrote Colonel Samuel Hunter:

We are sorry to hear the Attempts which have been made to get Scalps & Prisoners have been so unsuccessful, & hope Perseverance will, in Time, produce better Effects — We cannot help thinking it the only effectual Mode to carry on an Indian War, and that a mere defensive System is not only attended with an enormous Expence, but to very little adequate Purpose.[4]

The ill success complained of by Reed did not long continue, and on September twenty-first Colonel Hunter was able to say:

Our Volunteers has had some success in the Scalping way on the 28th ult. Lieu. Jacob Creamer, William Campbell and two the name of Grove, took two Scalps about one hundred and fifty miles from here on ye west branch of Susquahana as you will see by ye Certificate.[5]

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[1] Pennsylvania Colonial Records, xii. 311. [2] *Ibid.* xii. 312.
[3] *Ibid.* xii. 328. [4] Pennsylvania Archives, viii. 393.
[5] *Ibid.* viii. 568. Other rewards were claimed and paid in 1781 and 1782: see Pennsylvania Colonial Records, xii. 632, xiii. 201.

In addition to money rewards for scalps, barbarities perpetrated by the Americans — as, for instance, the making of "boot-legs" by the skinning of Indians — show a wanton cruelty unpleasant to contemplate. It is not to the credit of certain American historians that, while rhetorically dwelling on the unproved charges against the British, they have passed over in silence instances of acts of cruelty committed by American officers and soldiers, the authenticity of which rests on only too firm a basis — namely, the letters, diaries, and journals of the officers and soldiers themselves.[1]

Mr. HENRY W. CUNNINGHAM exhibited some reproductions by the Pelham Club of Peter Pelham's portraits of Thomas Hollis, the Reverend Charles Brockwell, and the Reverend Timothy Cutler.

A Table of Silver Rates from 1706 to 1750 was submitted by Mr. ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS, who said:

This Table was found among the papers of the late Benjamin Marston Watson of Plymouth. The copy submitted is in every respect like the original and bears no heading to indicate its origin. Although the paper, the ink, and the chirography of the original indicate that it was clearly contemporaneous with the latest dates upon the document, it nevertheless bears within itself evidence that it was a copy. It will be observed that from the winter of 1743 up to the fall of 1747, Silver, according to the rates given in the Table, steadily rose in price, with the exception that the quotation in the summer of 1746 shows the extraordinary advance of One Pound and Two Shillings an ounce, while the quotation in the fall of the same year shows a decline of Eighteen Shillings an ounce, thereby restoring the price to a position on the silver curve which we might plot from these figures, which would seem to be normal. Comparison with other tables confirms the evidence furnished by the Table itself, and enables us to say that without doubt whoever made out this Table put the rate per ounce for the summer of 1746 just One Pound too high. This is a mistake

[1] Many revolting details will be found scattered through the Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General John Sullivan against the Six Nations of Indians in 1779, published by the State of New York.

which could not readily occur in an original tabulation, but is a natural error for a copyist.

Although we are left entirely to conjecture as to the purpose for which the original Table was compiled, still it may be regarded as a valuable contribution to the general subject upon which it bears, and is worthy of publication in our Transactions.

THE PRICES OF SILVER FROM 1706 TO 1750; INCLUSIVELY.

Years	Prices	Years	Prices
	£ s d		£ s d
1706	0. 8.6	1742	1. 8.0
1714	0. 8.6	Summer	1. 7.6
1715	0. 9.2	Fall	1. 8.0
1716	0.12.0	Winter	1. 9.6
1721	0.13.0	1743	1. 9.4
1722	0.14.0	Winter	1.10.0
1724	0.16.0	1744	1.10.6
1725	0.15.6	Summer	1.12.0
1730	0.18.0	Winter	1.13.0
1731	0.19.0	1745	1.16.0
1733	1. 1.0	1746	1.16.0
1734	1. 4.0	Summer	2.18.0
Summer	1. 5.0	Fall	2. 0.0
Fall	1. 7.0	Winter	2. 2.0
1737	1. 6.6	1747	2.12.0
1738.S.	1. 7.0	Fall	3. 0.0
Fall	1. 8.0	Winter	2.18.0
1739	1.10.0	1748	2.15.0
1740	1. 8.6	Summer	2.16.0
Fall	1. 8.0	Fall	2.17.6
Winter	1. 9.0	1749	2.15.0
1741	1. 9.0	1750	2.10.0

Mr. DAVIS also requested that another Table, to which his attention had been called by Mr. Henry H. Edes, might be inserted in our Transactions. Although it has been published, he said, in a work which insures its preservation and brings

it within the reach of students who may chance to see it, still the place of publication is not one where economists would naturally look for quotations, and its insertion in our Transactions would be of great advantage to that class of students.

The following is the Table. It is constructed from the Rates of Silver collated by the Reverend Henry W. Foote from the Ledger Records of King's Chapel, Boston.[1]

Year	Approximate Price of Silver per Ounce, New England Money	Exchange with London
	Shillings and Pence	Per Cent
1730–31	18	260
1732	19	280
1734	21	320
1735	27	440
1737	26	430
1739	30	500
1740	28.6 to 29	480
1741	28	460
1742	29.6	490
1743	29.4 to 30	500
1744–45	32 to 33	545
1745	36	620
1747	38 to 40	700

On behalf of the widow of Mr. ROBERT NOXON TOPPAN, Mr. DAVIS communicated the following sketch of Edward Rawson written by Mr. Toppan, among whose papers it was found.

EDWARD RAWSON.[2]

Whoever has occasion to examine the original documents called the Massachusetts Archives, preserved in the State House at

[1] Annals of King's Chapel, i. 522, 523.

[2] Read before the Historical Society of Old Newbury, Newburyport, 27 October, 1892.

Boston, must be surprised at the vast amount of clerical labor performed by Edward Rawson, who was Secretary of the Colony from 1650 to 1686. As his name appears in the list of the original proprietors of the town of Newbury, a slight sketch of his life, gathered from the sources at my command, will not be uninteresting.

Edward Rawson was born in Gillingham, Dorsetshire, England, 16 April, 1615, of a highly respectable family, belonging to what has been called the upper middle class of society, — a class to which belonged very many of the early colonists of New England. His mother was a sister of the Reverend John Wilson, the first minister of the First Church in Boston, and sister of Dr. Edmund Wilson, who made a most liberal gift to the infant colony of £1000 which was expended in purchasing artillery and ammunition. The wife of the Reverend John Wilson was the daughter of Lady Mansfield.[1]

Before leaving England Rawson married Miss Rachel Perne, whose grandmother was a sister of the Right-Reverend Edmund Grindal, Archbishop of Canterbury in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and whose grandfather Hooker was the uncle of the Reverend Thomas Hooker, the well-known clergyman, who after remaining a short time in Cambridge founded the town of Hartford in Connecticut. From his family connections Mr. Rawson could hardly help belonging to the reforming part of the Church of England, for even Archbishop Grindal leaned strongly to the Puritan element of the Established Church. Macaulay says of him, that the "archbishop hesitated long before accepting a mitre from his dislike of what he regarded as the mummery of consecration." For this ancestor Mr. Rawson named, presumably, the youngest of his twelve children, — Grindal. What induced Rawson to establish himself in Newbury instead of Boston, where his uncle was the prominent minister, is not known, but Mr. Ellery B. Crane, the compiler of the Rawson Memorial, thinks it very probable that some of the planters here knew Rawson personally in England. This is very likely, for he was immediately raised to a public trust, which would hardly have been the case had he been a total stranger.

The first mention of Rawson in the Newbury records, according

[1] A. Young, Chronicles of Massachusetts, p. 326 *note*.

to Mr. William Little, is on 24 February, 1637, Old Style. I quote from Mr. Little's letter: "The first mention of land granted to Mr. Rawson that I find is of date 24 February, 1637, Old Style, and I think this is the first mention of him in the records of the town. I think the next month he was chosen with Mr. John Woodbridge to prepare some by-laws for the town." During March, 1638, Rawson was made a freeman of the Colony, but the Colony Records do not state the day of the month. On the second of May we find him, when only twenty-three years of age, a Deputy to the General Court. From that time forward until 1650, with the exception of 1641 and 1643, he represented Newbury continuously, evidently to the satisfaction of his constituents. On the eighth of June, 1638, he was fined for being absent from his post, the records containing the following entry:

> These 4 gentlemen after named, M^r^ John Humfrey, M^r^ John Winthrope, Iunior, M^r^ Atherton Hoffe, & M^r^ Edw^d^ Rawson, were fined 5 sh^s^ a peece for their absence when the Court was called.[1]

On the fifteenth of June, as one of the Selectmen of Newbury, with Edward Woodman, John Woodbridge, William Moody, James Browne, John Knight and Abraham Toppan, he signed an order appointing four officers who were to see that sentinels properly armed were posted at the doors of the meeting house during service for protection. On the sixth of September he was appointed by the Court one of the commissioners to try small causes at Newbury. Under the same date he was chosen with Mr. Bradstreet and Mr. Winthrop, Junior, "to assist in setting out the places of the towne [Winnacunnet] & apportioning the severall quantity of land to each man."[2] At Rawson's request or suggestion the place was called Hampton. He was, under the same date, placed upon a committee to examine accounts of the Treasurer of the Colony and see that warrants for taxes were sent out.

I shall not attempt to give a detailed account of the various offices of trust and the many committees and commissions on which he served during his long and busy life, but will select out of the notes I have taken from the printed records and the unpub-

[1] Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 230.

[2] *Ibid.* i. 236, 239, 271.

lished archives those that will most interest us. On 19 November, 1638, —

> It is ordered that Edward Rawson shall supply the place of Mr. Woodbridge and be the publick notary and register for the towne of Newbury and whilst he so remains, to be allowed by the towne after the rate of five pounds per annum for his paynes.[1]

On June sixth, 1639, he was put by the Deputies on the committee to levy a tax of £1000 on the Colony, and subsequently he was repeatedly placed upon financial committees. In the same year Rawson made an attempt to manufacture gunpowder, which was an article of extreme importance to the planters. This was the first attempt made in the Colony. The Court granted him five hundred acres at Pecoit (Pequot) "so as hee go on with the business of powder, if the salt peter come."[2] The effort was unsuccessful, but he was recompensed by the Court for his trouble and expenses, as we shall later see.

In 1640 Rawson was made one of the assessors to estimate the value of the horses, mares, oxen, cows and hogs in Newbury, the Colony tax levy being that year £1200.

In 1641 he was again appointed one of the commissioners to try small causes in Newbury.

On 23 February, 1642, at a general town meeting he with others was selected to stint the commons "according to their best judgments and discretion." He was also placed on the committee to make arrangements for moving the inhabitants of Newbury from the lower green, which led to much trouble and contention. The trouble was not settled until 1646, when it was decided to set up the meeting-house upon "a knowle of upland by Abrahams Toppan's barne within a sixe or sixteen rodd of this side of the gate posts, that are sett up in the highway by the said Abraham Toppan's barne."[3] To this order Rawson objected, but it was carried by a majority vote. On May twentieth he was made one of the committee to put the country "in a posture of warre." On June fourteenth came the order of the General Court to all the towns to manufacture saltpetre.[4]

[1] J. Coffin, History of Newbury, p. 28.
[2] Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 263.
[3] Coffin, History of Newbury, pp. 36, 44.
[4] Massachusetts Colony Records, ii. 17.

In 1644 we read that in consideration of Rawson's —

keeping the towne book it is ordered by us according to our power from the towne and courte granted to us, that he shall be freed and exempted from all towne rates for one whole yeare from the twenty-ninth of September last to the twenty-ninth of September next 1644.[1]

The Colony Records for the same year, November thirteenth, contain this entry: "M Edward Rauson hath hired to farme y^{e} rent due for wine drawen in y^{e} countrey, for 107^{l} 10^{s} for a yeare."[2] This venture did not turn out well for him.

On June eighteenth, 1645, he was appointed to the important position of Clerk of the Deputies,— a position he continued to fill, with the exception of one year, until he was promoted to the higher position of Secretary of the Colony. In 1648 there was apparently no clerk chosen and the records for that year are in the handwriting of William Torrey, who subsequently became Clerk.

The entry for 18 June, 1645, is as follows:

Edward Rawson is chosen & appointed cla'ke to the Howse of Depu^{ts} for one whole yeere, to enter all votes past in both howses, & those also y^{t} passe only by them, into their booke of reco'ds.[3]

On October eighteenth of the same year it was voted to pay him "twenty markes, for the se'vice he hath donne in keeping & transcribing the reco'ds of the Howse of Depu^{ts} for the time past."[4] A mark was worth thirteen shillings and four pence.

As already stated, Rawson did not succeed in collecting as much revenue from wine as he had expected, so that in 1646 the Deputies voted that he should receive "one fourth part of what is due to y^{e} countrey on that order in satisfaction to his charge and expense of time."

On May sixth, 1646, he was one of the committee to lay out the bounds of Exeter. Under the same date he with Richard Dummer and Mr. Carleton were appointed a committee to "search & examine things at Salsberry, & make returne of their thoughts thereabouts, (concerning y^{e} petition of some of y^{m} to be a distinct church)."[5] Later in the year, 4 November, the Court granted

[1] Coffin, History of Newbury, p. 40.
[2] Massachusetts Colony Records, ii. 87.
[3] *Ibid.* iii. 28. [4] *Ibid.* iii. 61. [5] *Ibid.* ii. 147, 148.

him a commission "to see people joyne in marriage in Newberry, during the pleasure of y^e^ Courte."[1] It will be remembered that our ancestors did not allow a marriage service to be performed by a clergyman, considering matrimony a civil act only.[2]

As Rawson did not succeed in manufacturing gunpowder, therefore, on 26 October, 1648, the —

> Co^r^te, haveing taken into their serious consid^r^tion [his] great forwardnes & readines . . . to advance so hopefull a designe as the makeing of salt peter w^th^in this iuridiction, who for that end & purpose hath disbursed certein monyes, to his great losse & damage,

granted him five hundred acres at Pequot and five pounds in money. The next year he relinquished the land, receiving instead thirty pounds, of which the five previously granted were a part.[3]

In 1649 "Mr. Edward Rawson, Mr. John Spencer and Mr. Woodman was chosen by the towne to joyne with those men of Ipswich and Rowley, that was appointed to bee a committee about Plum island." Newbury petitioned the General Court for the whole of the island, but the Court decided to grant two-fifths to Newbury, two-fifths to Ipswich and one-fifth to Rowley.[4]

We have now reached a point in Mr. Rawson's career when, upon his elevation to the Secretaryship on 22 May, 1650, he began to be an important actor in the political affairs of the Colony. It was a dramatic period of the Colonial history of Massachusetts. The intrusion of the Quakers, the rise of the Baptists and the demands of the English government made his position an arduous one. In 1651 we find him as Secretary ordered, May twenty-third, to send a letter to Roger Williams, who had levied a tax upon

[1] Massachusetts Colony Records, ii. 166.

[2] In 1646 it was ordered, "That no person whatsoever in this Jurisdiction, shall joyne any persons together in Marriage, but the Magistrate, or such other as the General Court, or Court of Assistants shall Authorize in such place, where no Magistrate is neer" (Colonial Laws of Massachusetts, Whitmore's edition, 1889, p. 172). Referring to Charlestown, Mr. Edes writes that the Rev. Charles Morton "was the first clergyman in this place to solemnize marriages, which previously to 1686 were performed only by civil magistrates" (Memorial History of Boston, ii. 315). This last fact was noted by Randolph in 1676 (*Ibid.* i. 196).

[3] Massachusetts Colony Records, ii. 261, 283, 284.

[4] *Ibid.* ii. 283; Coffin, History of Newbury, pp. 50, 51.

certain individuals who claimed to be within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. The letter declared to Williams that —

> if himselfe, or the sergeant, or officer of Providence shall proceed to molest any of the aforesajd English vnder our jurisdiccon . . . this Courte intends to seeke sattisfaction for the same . . . in such manner as God shall putt oppertunitjes into their hands.[1]

This same year, on October fourteenth, he was made Recorder of Suffolk County, retaining that position until 1670. Five books of recorded deeds and mortgages attest the activity of his pen. Previously, in the month of September, he had been chosen by the Commissioners of the United Colonies to be steward "for the receiving and disposing of such goods and commodities as shall be sent hither by the Corporation in England for the Propogating the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England."[2]

In 1652, May twenty-sixth, he was placed on the committee to fix upon a suitable place for a mint in Boston.[3] The coining of money, which began this year, was considered, upon the restoration of Charles the Second in 1660, as a usurpation of sovereign rights, but at the time there was no protest that I can find made by the Parliamentary Government. On October nineteenth he was appointed one of the Guardians of Adam Winthrop, five years of age, the grandson of Governor John Winthrop.[4]

The next year there was some trouble with the Dutch Government at Manhattan, which led to considerable correspondence. We therefore read the following order, 2 June, 1653:

> The secretary and his man having for this months tjme and more binn very much implojed to write for our comissioners, both theire acts and transcribing the letters and artickles to the Dutch, &c, the Court doth judge it meete, and orders, that the secretary be sattisfied out of the next country rate, eight pence p page, as the lawe provides in another case.[5]

On June seventh, 1653, he was made a commissioner with others to receive the submission of the inhabitants of Wells, Saco and

[1] Massachusetts Colony Records, iv. (i.) 46.
[2] See the Plymouth Colony Records, ix. 195, 198.
[3] Massachusetts Colony Records, iv. (i.) 85.
[4] *Ibid.* iv. (i.) 116.
[5] *Ibid.* iv. (i.) 146.

Cape Porpoise to the Government of Massachusetts. On account of this journey to the eastward he received the next year a grant of land.[1]

During this year there was also trouble between the Colonies forming the Confederacy of 1643, in regard to some of the Articles of the Union. Massachusetts was not satisfied with the views taken, so Mr. Rawson was authorized to write:

To the comissioners of the Vnited Colonjes. Gentlemen: Wee see not reason to protract tjme in fruitelesse and needles returnes; wee shall acquiesce in o^r^ last paper, and comitt the successe to God. By y^e^ Court, 9 September, 1653. Edw: Rawson, Secrt.[2]

In 1656 there was what has been called the first "intrusion" of the Quakers which led to severe laws against them. Rawson has been called a "Persecutor" of the Quakers. A writer in 1849 says that Rawson "was hurried along by the torrent of popular fanaticism; and his name too frequently occurs upon the records of that gloomy period as the Persecutor."[3] I have not been able to find any evidence that he was more of a persecutor than any of the magistrates. The laws against the Quakers, copied mainly from English Statutes, were passed by a small majority, and Rawson, as Secretary, had to publish them. The very year in which the Quakers first made their appearance, Rawson undoubtedly made an attempt to save the life of Ann Hibbins, who had been condemned and was executed as a witch.[4] In the codicil to her will she speaks of Rawson as being "among her loving friends and intrusts to his care her chests and desk."

There is an entry the same year, under date of 14 October, which will interest us as showing the value of Indian corn at that time:

The secretary, as agent for the colonjes two yeares past, was pajd by the Treasurer forty two pounds odd money, in Indian corn, at three shillings p bush, which, for y^e^ most pt, he could make but two shillings. Itt is ordered, that the Treasurer pay to him tenn pounds for such his losse.[5]

[1] Massachusetts Colony Records, iv. (i.) 157, 211.

[2] *Ibid.* iv. (i.) 178.

[3] New England Historical and Genealogical Register, iii. 201–208, 297–330.

[4] 2 Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, i. 186.

[5] Massachusetts Colony Records, iv. (i.) 282.

Rawson having become a resident of Boston was chosen, 19 October, 1658, by the freemen one of the commissioners of the town and also in subsequent years. The Court passed the following vote 18 October, 1659:

The Court, considering that the secretary hath served the countrje for many yeeres in that place, whose tjme hath altogether binn taken vp wth the weighty occasions of the countrje, which haue beene & are incumbent on him, (the neglect whereof would be an ineuitable & great prejudice to the publique) and himselfe oft times forced to hire a clarke to helpe him, which hath cost him some yeares twenty pounds p annū, and every yeere spending of his oune estate a considerable sōme beyond what his estate will beare, nor is it for the honnor of the country that such an officer, so necessary, who hath also binn found faithfull & able in the discharge of the trust cōmitted to him, should want due encouragement, doe therefore order, that the present secretary shall have from the eleventh of May last, the sōme of sixty pounds p annū for his sallery, to continew yearly vntill this Court shal order & provide some other meete recompence.[1]

Several times the Court made him gifts of money for the faithful discharge of his duties.

I have omitted to state in chronological order the different grants of land made to Rawson, thinking it better to group them together. Mr. Coffin says that Newbury granted him five hundred and eighty-one acres. Miss Emily A. Getchell kindly sent me the following extract from the Newbury records:

In consideration of Mr. Edward Rawson his resigning up into the Town's hands his house lott and forty acres on merrimack next Abraham Toppan's they granted him forty acres next Mr. Woodman's and a house lott in high street to enjoy to him and his heyres forever.

In 1648, July tenth, the Court granted to the Reverend Mr. Wilson and Edward Rawson fifteen hundred acres in the Pequot Country, next to Mr. John Winthrop's fifteen hundred acres, and in case Winthrop did not perform a certain condition, the whole three thousand acres were to go to Wilson and Rawson. October twenty-seventh of the same year, five hundred more acres were granted. In 1654, October nineteenth, two hundred acres above

[1] Massachusetts Colony Records, iv. (i.) 391.

Dover bound were given him on account of his journey to the eastward. In 1657, May sixth, one hundred and ten acres were granted beyond Exeter River, and two hundred acres additional for his services at the eastward. In 1658, May twenty-sixth, four hundred acres were laid out to Rawson on "Panquatuke" river in the Pequot country. In 1660, October sixteenth, two hundred and fifty acres were granted for drawing up the book of laws, in any place not disposed of. In 1662, May seventh, two hundred and fifty acres were laid out four miles beyond Medfield. In 1683, October tenth, five hundred acres were granted in any free place. In 1685, April twenty-first, Rawson bought of the Indian proprietor for £14 New England money, two thousand acres between Dedham, Sherborn, and Medfield, to which he added on June fourth a small tract in Dedham, also bought from the Indians. In 1686, May thirteenth, five hundred acres were laid out to Rawson between Worcester and Lancaster. After Rawson's removal from Newbury to Boston he bought, 30 January, 1654, the estate of the old notary public and clerk, William Aspinwall, containing about two and one-half acres and extending on both sides of what was then called Rawson's Lane, now Bromfield Street.[1] Some of the plans of these grants are still preserved among the Massachusetts Archives.

We now approach a crisis in the history of the Colony in which Rawson bore a conspicuous part and for which he was well trained. He was probably better versed than any one else in the Colonial laws and in the provisions of the Royal Charter. As early as 1645 he had been placed on a committee "to draw certeine bills for positive lawes, as agt lying, Sabaoth breaking, swearing, drunkeness etc. & to present them to this house." This was after the Body of Liberties had been written out and discussed, but before the first collection of laws was published in 1649. After that date (1645) he was placed constantly on the committee on laws, to see that they were properly arranged for printing and tabulating, and as Secretary he published them. Mr. Whitmore,

[1] The estate extended from Washington Street to Tremont Street, and through its entire length Rawson opened the way now known as Bromfield Street. Rawson's mansion house, which he sold in 1670 to John Pynchon of Springfield, stood on the lots, comprising "neere one Acree," now making the northerly corner of Bromfield and Washington Streets (Suffolk Deeds, vi. 238).

in his Colonial Laws of Massachusetts, gives all the dates of Rawson's services, which it is not necessary to enumerate here.

The American Antiquarian Society has in its possession one of the law books of the period. It belonged to Rawson, and bears on the title-page the words written by his own hand "Edward Rawson his book." The title is as follows: "The Book of the General Laws and Liberties concerning the Inhabitants of the Massachusetts, collected out of the Records of the General Court, for the several years wherein they were made and established and now revised by the same Court and disposed into an Alphabitical order, and published by the same authority in the General Court holden at Boston in May 1649. Cambridge 1660." The preface was probably written by Rawson. It contains the supplementary laws of 1661, 1662, 1663, 1664, 1665, 1666 and 1668.

After the restoration of Charles the Second in 1660 and the re-establishment of the principles of monarchy and the supremacy of the Anglican Church, in which the laity have no voice, it was not difficult to foresee that those principles, and the principles underlying the Government of the Massachusetts Bay of popular self administration and democracy in the Church, must sooner or later come into conflict. In 1664 Royal Commissioners were sent out from England to conquer Manhattan from the Dutch, and also to make an effort to reduce the New England Colonies from their semi-independence to a state of dependence upon the mother country. Massachusetts was willing to do her share in the reduction of Manhattan, but her troops were not required. The Colonies of New Haven, Connecticut, Rhode Island and Plymouth yielded to the demands of the Commissioners, but Massachusetts had determined to maintain what she considered as her legal rights under the Charter.

The limits of my paper will not allow me to give in detail the voluminous correspondence between Secretary Rawson and the four Royal Commissioners. It fills many pages of the printed records. Rawson maintained, by the order of the Court, that their Charter gave them absolute power of government, according to which they could restrict the right of suffrage, which they had done, to church members, and also that there was no appeal to England from their courts of law. I will quote from only two of Rawson's letters, written May ninth and eleventh, 1665, respectively:

Vpon pervsall of the papers yow haue deliuered vs, as also of a copie of a warrant to John Porter, sajd to be signed by three of you'selues, wee apprehend our patent, & his majestjes authority therein cõmitted vnto vs, to be greatly infringed. Your answer, for help to a right vnderstanding thereof, will be very acceptable to vs, & greatly facilitate our returne to what yow have already presented vnto vs. . . . wee conceive our charter vnder the great seale of England giveth full power vnto the authority here established according thereto, to gouerne all the people of this place, whither inhabitants or straingers; & for all legall acts & administration of gouernmnt it giues vs a sufficjent royall warrant & discharge.[1]

The Royal Commissioners determined to hold a court of judicature in Boston, notwithstanding the hostile feeling displayed, but they were prevented by beat of drum and sound of trumpet. This action reminds one of what happened nearly thirty years before. The English government brought an action of *quo warranto* against the Charter and demanded that the Charter should be sent back to England. Massachusetts answered by ordering that the fortifications should be put in order for defence. The Royal Commissioners were baffled and went back to England.

Eleven years later the English government, being somewhat freed from domestic troubles, decided to make another attempt. Edward Randolph, who subsequently was the successor of Rawson as Secretary by Royal appointment, came to Boston in 1676 to see how matters stood. His report stirred up the enemies of the Colony in England, and the Royal government determined that the laws of trade and navigation, which had been repeatedly violated in New England, should be executed there.

In order to curb the power of the Puritan clergy, whose doctrines were almost republican, and whose friends in England had fought against monarchy, Randolph begged that an Episcopal Church should be established in Boston, whose members would believe (as the doctrines of the Anglican Church then were) in passive obedience and in non-resistance to the Royal authority, and he also strove to have the right of suffrage transferred from church membership to a money qualification, which would also strengthen the royal authority. The struggle was a long and

[1] Massachusetts Colony Records, iv. (ii) 195, 199.

bitter one. Rawson's pen was active in defending the rights of the Colony, as understood by the Colonists, in helping to compose addresses of supplication to the King and in writing letters of instructions, by order of the General Court, to their counsel in London who was to defend their Charter in Court.

In reading the original documents one cannot but feel the popular pulse beating in those days of anxiety and tribulation. To show the state of feeling I quote from only two of Rawson's letters, written September twelfth and October fifteenth, 1684, respectively:

By a private letter to Joseph Dudley Esq we are informed of new measures taken at Court in our case, at w^{ch} wee are amased, & haue called a Gennerall Court seriously to consider & weigh what is further to be donne by vs who are mett, and haue matters vnder debate; of what will be concluded, yow will receive by the first good oppertunitye. . . . Wee hope wee haue not forfeited the priviledge of Englishmen, that wee should be condemned vnheerd, much less without being sum̄oned to appeare, which yow know was impossible in the time prefixed.[1]

The Massachusetts Charter fell, as the corporations in England fell, before the Royal prerogative in what Cotton Mather called "the general shipwreck of charters." The Court of Chancery declared the Charter forfeited and vacated. A copy of the decree of the Court was placed in Secretary Rawson's hands on 2 July, 1685. The old government under which the colonists had elected their own officers and had greatly prospered was overthrown, and the future looked ominous under the rule of a despotic prince.

Joseph Dudley was appointed President of the Colony by the King until the arrival of a Royal Governor. The last official act of Secretary Rawson is dated 20 May, 1686:

Wee haue pervsed what yow left with us as a true coppy of his maj^{tjes} commission, shewed to us the 17th instant, impowring yow for the gouerning of his maj^{tjes} subjects inhabitting this colony, and other places therein mentioned.

Yow then applyed yourselues to vs, not as a Goũrno^{r} & Company, but (as yow were pleased to terme us) some of the principall gentlemen and cheife of the inhabitants of the seuerall tounes of the Massachusetts,

[1] Massachusetts Colony Records, v. 451, 458.

amongst other discourse saying it concerned us to consider what there might be thought hard & vneasy.

1. Vpon pervsall whereof wee finde, as we conceiue, first, that there is no certejne determinate rule for your administration of justice, & that which is seemes to be too arbitrary.

2^{ly}. That the subjects are abridged of their liberty as Englishmen, both in the matter of legislation and in the laying of taxes, and indeed, the whole unquæstioned priviledge of the subject transferred vpon yourselues, there being not the least mention of an assembly in the comission.

And therefore wee thinke it highly concernes yow to consider whither such a comission be safe, either for yow or us; but if yow are so sattisfied therein as that you hold yourselues oblejdged thereby, and do take vpon you the government of this people, although wee cannot give our assent thereto, yet hope shall demeane ourselves as true & loyall subjects to his maj^{ty}, and humbly make our addresses vnto God, &, in due time, to our gracious prince, for our releife.[1]

A committee was appointed to receive from Secretary Rawson certain papers in his possession and place them in security: then the Court adjourned.[2]

After this we catch an occasional glimpse of Rawson in the Diary of Samuel Sewall. One short and pathetic entry, under date of 31 August, 1686, will show the feeling of despondency prevailing: "Mr. Nowell, Moodey and Rawson visit me and comfort me."[3] Sewall was strongly opposed to the new government and had resigned his commission as Captain.

After Rawson lost his public employments he seems to have been straightened financially. Randolph had written to the Bishop of London that Rawson had retained £200 belonging to the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians, but as the accusation was not followed by legal proceedings, probably Rawson was only temporarily embarrassed. On 15 February, 1688, he petitioned Sir Edmund Andros, the Royal Governor, that he might be compensated for his work in indexing and arranging the public papers, detailing his arduous services. The petition is divided into seven clauses. On March second he sent in another petition. We read the following entry in the Archives:

[1] Massachusetts Colony Records, v. 515, 516.

[2] On 21 May, 1686 (Publications of this Society, vi. 81, 82).

[3] Diary, i. 150.

At a Councill held at y^e^ Councill Chamber^s^ in Boston on Thursday y^e^ 6th day of March 1688. Present his Excellency the Governor etc. The petition of Edward Rawson being this day read praying to be considered for his trouble & time spent & imployed . . . in making an account of y^e^ publique Records of y^e^ late Massachusetts Collony, ordered that y^e^ sume of ten pounds be payd him by y^e^ Treasurer out of his Maj^ties^ Treasury as a Gratuity for y^e^ said service.

Under date of 21 November, 1690, Sewall says that several gentlemen having met at his house, "Mr. Edward Rawson in regard of his Age, and dwelling out of Town" delivered the papers relating to the South Church, including Mrs. Judith Winthrop's deed of the Meeting House land, *etc.*, into the hands of a committee for safe keeping.[1]

After the Revolution of 1689, when Andros was sent back to England after being imprisoned in Boston for several months, Rawson in conjunction with Sewall published in 1691 a pamphlet signed "E. R.: S. S." entitled, "The Revolution in New England justified, and the People there Vindicated from the Aspersions cast upon them by Mr. John Palmer, in his Pretended Answer to the Declaration, published by the Inhabitants of Boston, and the Country adjacent, on the day when they secured their late Oppressors, who acted by an Illegal and Arbitrary Commission from the late King James."[2] Palmer had an official position under the Andros government.

In 1692 Rawson suffered the loss of his daughter Rebecca, whose tragic fate is graphically told by Whittier in his Leaves from Margaret Smith's Journal. She had been deceived in her marriage with Thomas Rumsey, who claimed to be a son of "Lady Haile," according to an affidavit still preserved in the State House, and who deserted her immediately upon their arrival in England. While on her voyage home to rejoin her father, after living some years in England, the vessel in which she was a passenger was wrecked by an earthquake in Jamaica and all on board perished. Her father survived her but a short time, passing away in his seventy-ninth year on August twenty-seventh, 1693, probably at the house of his son William, who then lived in Dorchester.

[1] Diary, i. 334, 335.

[2] It will be found in the Andros Tracts (Prince Society), i. 63–132.

The portrait of Rawson in the possession of the New England Historic Genealogical Society shows a man evidently of middle size, his face rather broad, nose aquiline, hazel eyes, long dark brown hair parted in the middle, moustache and imperial, wearing a broad white collar over a heavy black cloak, and long embroidered gloves. The portrait was painted when he was fifty-five years of age. Such he appeared when, on horseback, before the assembled members of the government, the troop of horse and eight companies of foot soldiers, he proclaimed the accession of James the Second, with the same ceremony with which he had proclaimed that Charles the Second was King, after his restoration.[1]

The Reverend MORTON DEXTER of Boston and the Reverend JAMES HARDY ROPES of Cambridge were elected Resident Members.

[1] For notices of Rawson, see Sullivan S. Rawson, Memoir of Edward Rawson (1849); E. B. Crane, Revised Memoir of Edward Rawson (1875); E. B. Crane, Ancestry of Edward Rawson (1887); J. J. Currier, Ould Newbury (1896), pp. 43–54.

FEBRUARY MEETING, 1902.

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at No. 25 Beacon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 27 February, 1902, at three o'clock in the afternoon.

In the absence from the Commonwealth of both President KITTREDGE and Vice-President WILLIAM WATSON GOODWIN, Mr. JOHN NOBLE was called to the chair.

After the Minutes of the last meeting had been read and approved, the CORRESPONDING SECRETARY announced that letters had been received from the Reverend MORTON DEXTER and the Reverend JAMES HARDY ROPES accepting Resident Membership.

Mr. FRANCIS APTHORP FOSTER, of Cambridge, was elected a Resident Member.

Mr. FREDERICK LEWIS GAY called attention to an entry in the Boston Selectmen's Records,[1] under date of 25 August, 1701, which notes the request of "Lawrence Brown, a Limner, . . . to be an Inhabitant of this Towne w^{ch} is granted On condition that he give Security to Save the Town harmless," and stated that he hoped to submit, at a subsequent meeting of the Society, a communication on the subject of Portrait Painters in Boston before 1725.

The CHAIRMAN then addressed the Society in the following language: —

In the absence of President Kittredge, it has devolved on me to announce to the Society the death of our associate, Professor Thayer, one of the oldest and most honored of our Resident Members. On the fourteenth of this month, at his home in Cam-

[1] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xi. 8.

Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
from an etching by Sidney L. Smith

bridge, death came to him in his seventy-second year, suddenly and painlessly, in the full maturity and undiminished vigor of his splendid powers.

I shall not speak of him in his more public career, — of that early promise so fully and brilliantly fulfilled; of his standing while at the Bar as a counsellor of strength and sagacity, and as a learned and profound lawyer; or of the many preferments offered, and declined; or of his share, as a member of its Faculty, in putting the Harvard Law School in the foremost place it holds to-day; of his numerous writings in so many fields; of his legal monographs, — the final statement of the existing law, or the prophetic enunciation of those principles upon which must rest the law of the coming time; of his longer and more elaborate works, — monuments of legal learning and research; or of his position as an expounder of Constitutional Law, — second to none in this Republic, and his reputation not confined to it, but international; or of that abiding fame as a jurist which outlives the fleeting memory of the lawyer.

I need not speak of his connection with this Society, — one of its Council, a Vice-President, a valued contributor to our Transactions, and a member keenly alive to all its interests, loyal and faithful in any and every service.

I will not try to recall his engaging qualities, — the warm-heartedness under that outward reserve, the delicate and irresistible humor, the clean-cut repartee, the pertinent reply, the attractiveness of his conversation, the charm of manner, and that indefinable something which made all who met him feel that here was a man whom it was worth while to know.

I will not speak of him as a citizen, — public-spirited, interested and alert on every question of the day; of his high sense of personal and professional and public honor, his purity and elevation and force of character, or of all that characterized him as a man among men. All this, and more, I leave to others; but to some of us, the older men, his death comes rather as a personal bereavement. We think not so much of what he has done as of what he was, — more than all, of what he was to us. It is the friend, — the true, loved, life-long friend, who is first in our thoughts and in our memory to-day. Fewer and fewer, as the years go by, are those whom we held as friends fifty years ago, and have held as

such to the days when we begin to reckon by scores as much as by years.

Fewer and fewer are those who knew with us the College of the fifties, who shared in the simple, fresh college life of that time, now almost forgotten, or, in fact, unknown in the stress and distraction of the University of to-day; those who felt the traditions and the spirit of that elder day, which made Harvard what it was then, and gave it the capacity to be what it is now; those whom the old College Clubs bound together in a peculiar closeness, and where the associations of those early years have not yet been outlived. Fewer and fewer are left of those who have so long kept step together in the march of life, closing up the ranks, and pushing on to the mustering out. So, as one link after another drops out from the ever shortening chain, as each old friend goes, the first thoughts that come to us, and any words we may speak of them, take a personal turn, which we cannot escape, if we would, and we leave it to others to tell the story of the life that has closed.

The CHAIRMAN then said: —

Naturally, to-day, by common consent and one impulse of feeling, our meeting takes on the character of a memorial meeting. At the request of the President, on behalf of the Council, Mr. Davis has prepared a Minute for the Records which I will ask him now to read.

Mr. ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS presented and read the following Minute: —

On the fourteenth of February, 1902, James Bradley Thayer, the Junior Vice-President of this Society, died suddenly at his home in Cambridge. He was one of the Founders of the Society and was a member of its first Council, his term of service at that time being for two years. In view of the great and continued interest which he manifested in our welfare, and of his many services in our behalf, for which the Society has already on one occasion expressed its sense of obligation by a formal vote of thanks, it has been thought best by the Council to submit to the members of the Society the following expression of our estimate

of the man, of our gratitude for his services, and of our grief for his loss, in order that it may find a permanent place upon the Records of the Society.

At the time of his death, Mr. Thayer was actively engaged in what may properly be regarded as the great work of his life. Whatever reputation he may have gained earlier as a practitioner at the bar is subordinate to the greater renown which attaches to his name as one of the leaders in the corps of lecturers at the Harvard Law School which has made that institution the foremost of its kind in the world. It was in the prosecution of his daily labor as a teacher of Constitutional Law that he earned for himself a reputation which has found its measure in the statement made by one of his eulogists that he was the leading constitutional lawyer in the country. The comparatively narrow field in which he thus laid the foundation for the well-deserved renown which attached to his name, was enlarged through his contributions to the legal literature of the day, and in addition thereto he became widely known among the friends of the Indians scattered throughout the country and received from them grateful recognition for his many efforts to ameliorate the condition of these victims of oppression, and for his attempts to improve the laws under which the wrongs worked upon them had been accomplished. To have done all this means that he was a man of untiring industry. The science of the law is not of such a nature that he who would expound it can ever cease his studies. The demands for constant research and unremitting effort made upon a teacher in such a school are persistent and continuous. An earned reputation brings with it no release from toil. When, therefore, we say that Professor Thayer was actively engaged in teaching at the time of his death, it necessarily follows that he was a busy man; that he had no period of rest or relaxation; that up to the very end the demands upon his time and his intellect were such as might well deter a younger man from undertaking similar work.

It was while engaged in this way, with every moment of each day apparently occupied with some pressing duty, that he came to us, bringing with him a breezy enthusiasm and a cordial sympathy hardly to have been expected from one whose time was so fully taken up and yet by no means surprising to those who knew the man. Nearly all of his life had been spent in the immediate vicin-

ity of Boston, either at Milton or Cambridge, and his knowledge of the men who were eligible to this Society was of very great assistance to us. When elected to the Council, he said that his stated engagements were such that he could not be relied upon to attend meetings, but that he would gladly do what he could to help the Society along. Those of us who had occasion to consult him during the period of his service as a member of the Council will remember how cordial was his welcome, how cheerfully he set aside the work which was interrupted by the visitor, with what alacrity he would clear a pathway through the books scattered round the floor of his study, and remove those piled in the chair which he wished his guest to occupy. There are degrees of cordiality with which busy men welcome intruders. No man who has appealed to a Cambridge professor for assistance but has come away with a feeling of wonder that these diligent workers are so willing to share with amateurs their hard-earned professional knowledge. Yet in a place where men are accustomed to be generous, the reception by Professor Thayer of one seeking aid was conspicuously cordial. He made it evident that he was not only willing to give help but that he took actual pleasure in doing so. Under these circumstances, welcomed with a cheery smile as we always were, freely helped in the solution of the point under discussion, and even urged to stay longer when we rose to go, those of us who consulted him in behalf of the Society were deeply impressed with the benefits that we derived from these visits, and for that reason submitted the vote of thanks for his services which was passed at the Annual Meeting in 1894.

It has been said that the suggestion of the name of Edward Wheelwright for President was an inspiration. That suggestion came from Mr. Thayer at one of these consultations. Thus, while we are called upon with others to mourn the loss of the genial companion, the much beloved friend, the learned teacher and the prominent citizen, we have special cause for honoring the memory of this trusted and willing adviser.

He had nearly reached the grand climacteric in his life when he joined this Society, and yet there was nothing in his appearance when, at the age of seventy-one, he died, to indicate any waning of his powers. Conscious that he had some trouble in the region of his heart, he had, by the advice of his physician, for a few years

before his death avoided exercise of a certain character, but, except for this slight change in his habits, there was no outward indication, either in his personal appearance or in his manner, that he was the victim of incurable disease. He might have been relied upon, to the last, to make a witty speech at a dinner, or to take upon his shoulders the burden of conversation at a gathering of friends. Always bright, always cheerful, always resourceful, always sympathetic, his kindly spirit made for him friends at every turn, and when, in the midst of a blinding snowstorm, the funeral services were performed over his body, Appleton Chapel was crowded with an audience whose presence at such a time bore testimony to the affection with which his memory was cherished. Not only were the students who were under his special instruction there, but nearly every member of the Law School joined the procession which braved the elements on that inclement day, thus indicating in a remarkable way their respect for their teacher.

In person, he was a conspicuously fine looking man, and his gentle voice and engaging manners always made a favorable impression. His affectionate disposition, fortunately, found outlet in the happiest of domestic circumstances. He had lived to see his two sons successfully established in life, and his two daughters, the one with a profession which furnished her with the means of complete independence, the other the mistress of a happy home near his own. If he himself had controlled events, he would probably not have asked that it should be otherwise ordered, except for the separation from his devoted wife, towards whom our sympathy goes forth in her solitary march to the grave.

Mrs. Thayer was a daughter of the Rev. Samuel Ripley, for many years the pastor of the church at Waltham. The Rev. Ezra Ripley, her grandfather, acquired title to the spacious residence at Concord which Hawthorne has made famous as the Old Manse. Thither, in 1846, Samuel Ripley moved with his family, and thus the intimacy which existed between the Hoars, the Emersons and the Ripleys became cemented. It was natural that when Mr. Thayer was admitted into the Ripley family circle, he, too, should become the friend of Ralph Waldo Emerson and of Rockwood Hoar. To these circumstances we are indebted for two publications entirely outside the volumes devoted to professional labor and the occasional pamphlets containing articles from reviews or addresses

to societies. One of these contains an account of an overland trip with Emerson to California. It was originally prepared simply to be read at one of the clubs to which the author belonged, but through persuasion he was induced to publish it. Although the account of the trip is not based upon any daily journal entries, it is faithful in its record of the sayings of the great philosopher to an extent that would have made Boswell envious if he had seen it, while it has the additional advantage of descriptive narrative of a high order of merit, the whole being flavored with a delicate sense of humor which shows that the writer was keenly alive to sentiments of that nature. The reader will turn the last page of this little volume with sorrow that there is not more of it, and regret that the author did not go farther afield in that region of literature. The other was a biographical sketch of the life of the Rev. Samuel Ripley, written at the request of Judge Hoar while stretched upon his dying bed. Such a request, Mr. Thayer says, could have but one answer. As there was no personal acquaintance between the author and his subject, the life is mainly portrayed through extracts from letters. In the text, however, we can from time to time see gleams of the author's ever-present sense of humor; never provokingly apparent, never ostentatiously displayed, but subtly indicated for those whose sympathies can lift the veil. In his summing up of the characteristics of Samuel Ripley, he comes so near describing himself that, with but slight alteration, we can adopt his words for our conclusion: —

> What stands out in all the accounts of him which I have ever heard, is the image of an . . . affectionate, generous man, devoted to the duties of his calling, and singularly disinterested, making no personal claims, unsparing in his acts of personal kindness and generosity; yet prudent in managing his affairs, firm in his moral principles and rigidly conforming to them in his own practice; fond of society, full of sympathy and heartily enjoying the companionship of his friends; liberal minded, of sound sense, a clear and quick intellect, and a hearty appreciation for what is best in literature and personal character.

The Minute was unanimously adopted by a rising vote.

The CHAIRMAN: —

I will first call upon Mr. Thorndike, a classmate and one of the oldest and closest friends of Professor Thayer.

Mr. S. LOTHROP THORNDIKE's tribute was in these words: —

On one of Thayer's latest appearances at our monthly meetings — perhaps it was his very last — he came to say a few words in memory of a classmate and life-long friend. What he said was not a eulogy, but it was so tender, so appreciative, and at the same time so impartial, so heedful not to claim anything for his friend that was not his due, that when the meeting was over we gathered round him to say, "Please outlive us, if you will only speak like that of us." It was with the recollection of that occasion in my mind, that when I got the request to say something to-day, I forgot for the instant, as I have twenty times since his death, that it was himself lying dead, and the thought came to me, — "Why, Thayer would be the man for that."

I am at a loss what now to say that would seem to him or to you the fitting word. If I only spoke what has lain uppermost, or rather deepest, in my mind since the event that has made such difference in the lives of some of us, it might seem too personal for printed record, even in a fraternity as intimate as ours. It would be the mere recalling of a half century of heart-felt regard, of a quarter century of familiar companionship, of neighborhood in Cambridge, of the clubs in which we met, of hours in the woods or on the shore of Mt. Desert, of talks in one or the other of his pleasant habitations, of books read together, of books received as gifts, always somehow significant of the giver, and always inscribed, — "In affectionate remembrance," to which, perhaps, would latterly be added,— "*consenescenti consenescens.*" Only one of us is now growing old. The other has become forever young.

I should not venture even thus far to allude to personal relations, were it not that in a way they indicate Thayer's capacity for loving and being loved. I can think of no one — and I say this not as a phrase — with whom, in this respect, to compare him. He had hundreds of friends and not a single enemy. It would be easy to catalogue the qualities that made him so attractive; the sweetness of disposition that permeated his whole being; the nobility of character that commanded the respect and esteem of all; the cordiality of manner, not, as with some, a varnish, but the outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace; the beauty of his presence; the thoughtful kindness of a thousand daily acts. To

all this must be added another indefinable something, that drew men and women to him. It is the fashion to talk of personal magnetism; but that much-abused word may safely be left for the great beings who can bring down the house by public speech or ride at the head of popular followings. It would be a pity to use it on Thayer. If he were a woman, one might find a word. We sometimes credit attractive women with a quality quite apart from grace of feature or mind or disposition, a quality as incapable of definition as abstract beauty. It is charm. If one were to say that Thayer was a charming man, the adjective might provoke a smile. But the substantive is safe, and there was so much of the feminine in him, that one may well say that what most impressed people was his invariable charm. It must not be supposed that his sweetness of temper prevented him, on occasion, from speaking very plainly. If he fell upon anything paltry or vulgar or pretentious or discourteous, he was very outspoken; and paltriness had for him a pretty broad significance. The line of the life worth living was for him very closely drawn. In a certain way, he was more exclusive than most persons who have to deal with the world as it is. He associated freely and kindly with all sorts and conditions of men, but the people whom he liked to have about him were those whose standards of life and cultivation and taste were the same as his, — men who liked the same books and thought the same thoughts with himself. For a man successful in business or politics or general affairs he cared little, unless the man was something beside this, and a great deal beside. Such men, for him, were cheap, — a favorite expression, — and he was clairvoyant in detecting a cheap man at a glance.

The tranquil, almost eventless, always happy course of Thayer's life I will not try to follow in detail. It must be left for what Memoir we may hereafter place upon our record. Of his boyhood in Northampton we get pleasant glimpses in his delightful sketch of Chauncey Wright, the earliest and perhaps the dearest friend of his childhood and youth. This sketch, by the way, furnishes one of the best examples of what I have said of Thayer's unwillingness to indulge in over-praise or to conceal the shortcomings even of those most dear to him. *Nil nisi bonum* was never a maxim of his, either of the living or of the dead, and I have sometimes thought that his sensitive conscience leaned too far the other way.

In college he made his mark at once, not merely by scholarship,

but by the ready wit which was through life one of his happy traits which linger in our memory. His rank at graduation was not especially high, as he was obliged to eke out his straitened means by months of teaching. But he was of course a Phi Beta, he was Class Orator and he was the best beloved man of the class.

Then came some years in which the study of the law had still to be provided for by intervals of teaching, and then, upon his admission to the bar in 1856, followed seventeen years of routine practice of the law in various offices and professional connections. He was an able and successful advocate and counsellor, but the scholarship of the law, as distinguished from its practice, had already laid hold of him. He became so well known as a brilliant and learned writer for the law Reviews and as a valuable coadjutor in editions of important legal works, that in 1873 Harvard College appointed him Royall Professor and the great work of his life began. I must leave to others, more competent than I, to set forth the importance of this work. The happy effect of his devotion to his great task upon the minds of his students, the position which it gave him among the great jurists of America, the companionship into which it brought him with the learned jurists of other nations, — all this I, in no sense a legal scholar, know rather by what has been said of him by others, than by my own too scanty reading of what he himself has written. One thing I may be permitted to remark upon, though it must be obvious even to the most unlearned and cursory reader. It is the high plane from which he always speaks. It is not only what the law is, but what it ought to be, not only what judges are, but what they ought to be, that he tells us. He has no undue respect for persons, even if they be judges and contemporaries. He speaks *ex cathedra*, as the critic and instructor of courts as well as of students, and comments not merely upon judgments but upon the men who make them. And where he disapproves it is in very plain words. Such phrases as "An opportunity sadly misimproved," "An opinion singularly wanting in judicial quality," "An opinion marked by very loose thinking," "An opinion credited with an amount of learning and research to which it can lay no claim," are common. But all this I must leave to others.

I must also not stop to remark upon his friendships with the best, and best known, men of the day in other spheres than the law, — Emerson, Lowell, Norton, Forbes, — or upon his own literary work

outside of the law, set forth with such grace and mastery of language.

Let me only come back for a moment to his home life, not, indeed, to the lovely companionship of his own domestic circle, — into that I must not even here intrude, — but to the simplicity and dignity of his hospitality, whether at Cambridge or Bar Harbor. It was at Mt. Desert, of course, that this was most marked, because there the attractiveness of the region was added to that of himself and his household, to bring him welcome guests. And it was there that I best knew it. His house was as simple and unpretentious as himself. In later years it stood in its modesty with the houses of rich men in sight in all directions, and he used to tell with amusement of hearing a professional guide, who was displaying the show-places of the neighborhood to a tourist party, say as he passed, "Now here is the place of a man of moderate means." Yes, but the means, though moderate, were sufficient to bring into that charmed circle, for a week or a day or a meal, many people worth knowing and listening to, and the table-talk over a joint and a pudding was higher and finer than I fancy it sometimes is at the table of millionaires.

Here let me stop. I have said little of the purity, the truthfulness, the moral elevation which made the man what he was. That was summed up in all that was said at his impressive funeral service, from the words *Integer vitae scelerisque purus*, with which it began, to the words —

> Lord of himself, though not of lands,
> And having nothing, yet hath all,

with which it ended.

The CHAIRMAN: —

Next, I will call upon Mr. Williamson, another member of the Class of '52, which will round out its fiftieth year next Commencement.

Mr. WILLIAM C. WILLIAMSON then read the following Sonnet: —

JAMES BRADLEY THAYER.

17 *February*, 1902.

The college elms were white with falling snow
When through their aisles we bore him, friend and friend,
With lingering steps, attending to the end
A life which glorified this life below.
Rank upon rank his pupils came, to show
The honors which on Learning's courts attend,
And now, at last, the triumphs: which transcend
All tears of sorrow, and all voice of woe.
With keen, bright blade this knight could meet and dare
The subtle masks of sophistry; his art
Was truth; unfaltering, dauntless, void of wrong;
Sunshine was on his lips and in his heart;
Pure, valiant, modest, helpful, wise and strong —
Such was thy path through life, beloved Thayer.

The CHAIRMAN: —

I will now ask Mr. Hall to speak, — Professor Thayer's sometime minister, and one of that little group of college contemporaries who have met together regularly for many years till only half the original number are left.

The Reverend EDWARD H. HALL paid this tribute to the memory of Mr. Thayer: —

I have no other claim to speak for Mr. Thayer than that of a friend; though that alone will entitle me, I trust, to add a few words of personal reminiscence. Our acquaintance goes back to college days. We were not classmates, but being in successive classes we met not infrequently on the common ground of college gatherings, where I remember him chiefly as one of a little circle which even in those days seemed an unusual one, and which now, in view of the high distinction attained by so many of its members, has become noteworthy indeed. His classmates are best qualified to speak of his college career, and it is not for me to dwell upon it. If there were any contribution which I should be inclined to add to these youthful memories, it would be one which may seem too trivial for the occasion, yet which to my mind is

sufficiently characteristic of the man to be rescued from oblivion. At one of our social societies where, as in other college gatherings, fun was wont to run riot, a certain part of the literary proceedings had been allowed for some years to fall into that sort of grossness which young men are apt to mistake for wit. When the Class of '52 came into control, it was resolved to cleanse the Augean stables, and that service was left to Mr. Thayer. It is pleasant to remember how thoroughly he did the work entrusted to him, and how the tone of the paper was freed at once from all suggestion of indecency, while a vein of such inimitable humor was imparted to it as to satisfy the most exacting demands. It was one of those little college triumphs which are quite as important as the more conspicuous successes known to the world.

His friendships, as I have intimated, were of a kind to test his intellectual qualities, lying as they did among companions eminent in various callings, some of them specialists in history, philosophy or literature, yet who found in Mr. Thayer an altogether worthy comrade. I think hardly any man has gone out of Cambridge bearing more thoroughly the old-time stamp of Harvard College. He had marked literary culture, though not following a distinctively literary career. The list of his books is not numerous; yet at almost every period of his life, quite apart from his professional productions, has appeared some important contribution to the field of letters, bearing always the same fine quality. These began as early as 1854, within two years of his graduation, with a biographical essay on Fisher Ames, contributed to one of the collections of that day published by the Putnams, entitled Homes of American Statesmen, — an appreciative estimate of a distinguished life, and an admirable characterization of it. About 1884, appeared the pamphlet already alluded to, A Western Journey with Mr. Emerson, followed soon after by brief but delightful sketches of two of his kindred by marriage, Mrs. Samuel Ripley, and the Rev. Samuel Ripley of Waltham, — sketches drawn with great delicacy of touch and much appreciation of the type of character produced by our earlier New England life. In all these writings one is struck with a noteworthy literary grace. So marked indeed was this tendency towards what was formerly called *belles-lettres*, that twenty years after his graduation, during which time he had been immersed in the practice of a profession which often takes its votaries far away

from literature, Mr. Thayer was offered a professorship in the English Department of Harvard College; an appointment which he declined, to accept soon after his final position in the Harvard Law School.

My own more intimate acquaintance with him began when I went to Cambridge, in 1882, as pastor of the First Church, where he had long been an attendant. I found him then in the midst of his professional work. He seemed to me the busiest man — the most persistently busy — that I had ever met. Go into his study, finding your way as you could among the volumes which were piled in every corner and crowded every space, as if the multitude of his books could not be too near to his hand, and there were no time to arrange them, and you felt yourself in a studious presence which it was unkind to disturb. You hesitated always to intrude upon such a sanctuary, yet nowhere were you surer of a cordial welcome, and no memories are more precious than of the stolen conversations held in those narrow quarters, on which Emerson and many legal worthies looked so benignantly down. However one might protest against this seclusion within his study walls, it seemed to interfere but little, after all, with his participation in social gatherings, where he was so prized and honored a guest. No more did it prevent his interest in public affairs. He was in many respects the ideal citizen, bringing to public problems not merely the sentimental concern which creates so many enthusiasts, nor grand ideals alone of the ends at which the Government should aim, but also the intelligent insight which discerned the crying need of the hour, and was ready with fruitful counsel.

I might be expected to speak a word of Mr. Thayer's religious life, though it is hardly the place to dwell upon that at length. It is enough to say, that in those high themes which concern us all, but which are not always approached understandingly by the devoutest laymen, one found in Mr. Thayer a profound and thoroughly appreciative interest, and an intelligent acquaintance with whatever progress was being made in the world of religious thought. While humorously alive to the shallowness or grotesqueness which sometimes finds its way into sacred places, no one was ever more loyal than he to all that religion or the church stands for in the community.

Of his personal qualities I need not speak, they have already

been touched upon so well. Those who have known Mr. Thayer will not soon forget the simplicity of character, the refinement, the social tact or the conversational charm which illustrated his life, and made him so widely beloved.

The CHAIRMAN: —

Two of Mr. Thayer's associates in the Harvard Law School Faculty are here, — Judge Smith and Professor Ames. Shall I call upon you first, Judge Smith?

The Honorable JEREMIAH SMITH spoke as follows: —

The work by which Professor Thayer will be best known to the next generation of lawyers is his Preliminary Treatise on Evidence at the Common Law. What is the impression which that book would make upon a legal reader who is an entire stranger to the author?

One of the first impressions would relate to the character of the writer. The reader will undoubtedly say that the man who stands behind this book must have been a person of singular modesty and remarkable candor. Here is a man who puts forward original ideas and important views without flourish of trumpets or claiming the merit of discovery; a man who never overstates the case in support of his own theories, and is always careful to give full space and due weight to the argument opposed to his own views. Every page bears evidence of the quality which Martineau calls "intellectual conscientiousness."

But the competent lawyer who reads this book in the next generation will not stop with the conclusion that it was the work of an honest man. He will say that it proceeds from an intellect which is both profound and patient. He will praise not only the substance, but also the arrangement of the topics. Every brick in the edifice is laid in its proper place, and every brick was carefully rung before it was laid. There was first a careful investigation of authorities; and then a re-examination of the subject as if it were a new matter.

Professor Thayer goes straight to the fundamentals of the topic. He does not content himself with repeating stereotyped formulas, nor is he satisfied with half solutions of difficulties. On the contrary, he gets behind the ordinary explanations. He does not fall

into the mistake, alluded to by Fitzjames Stephen, of supposing that the rules of evidence "had an existence of their own apart from the will of those who made them." Instead, he takes us back to the very birth of these rules, and shows when, why, and how each of them came to be. Nothing can exceed his thoroughness in this respect. I know of nothing which has ever been written on the subject which lets in such a flood of light, nothing which so well brings the student to the right point of view, as some passages in this treatise. Take, for instance, the statement (page 264) that the "excluding function is the characteristic one in our law of evidence;" or, as he puts it in other words (page 266), the rejection, on practical grounds, "of what is really probative" is "the characteristic thing in the law of evidence;" which, as he felicitously adds, stamps it "as the child of the jury system." Or, again, take his comment on the familiar Latin maxim which briefly tells us that questions of law are for the judge and questions of fact for the jury. Professor Thayer says that this maxim "was never true, if taken absolutely" (page 185). No doubt it is *only* fact which the jury are to decide (page 187), but there never was any such thing as "an allotting of all questions of fact to the jury. The jury simply decides some questions of fact" (page 185).

Nor would the reader stop with admiring the thought displayed in the treatise, or with the conviction that the book was the work of an honest man and a profound intellect. He would also admire the style, the words and phrases in which the thoughts are expressed. The writings of Professor Thayer have, in that respect, a charm which finds its closest recent parallels in the judicial opinions of Lord Bowen and the legal discussions of Sir Frederick Pollock. Just here let me add that the character of a man has a great effect upon his style as an author. We say of Professor Thayer, as has been said of Chief-Justice Marshall, that his most marked and distinguished personal trait was simplicity, using that term in its highest and best sense. Dean Swift tells us that faults in style are, nine times out of ten, owing to affectation rather than to want of understanding. When men depart from the rule of using the proper word in the proper place, it is usually done in order "to show their learning, their oratory, their politeness, or their knowledge of the world." "In short," says the Dean, "that

simplicity, without which no human performance can arrive to any great perfection, is nowhere more eminently useful than in this." No motives of vanity or display could ever be attributed to Professor Thayer.

But why did we have from Professor Thayer only a Preliminary Treatise? Why did he spend his strength on that, instead of at once putting forth a practical treatise on the Law of Evidence as now administered by the courts? The answer is to be found in the Introduction to the published work; and it marks both the honesty and the thoroughness of the man. Many years ago he began to write a practical treatise; but after he had made a beginning, he found the need of going largely into the history of the subject, and also of making a critical study of certain related topics which overlie and perplex the main subject. He went into those examinations, he spent an immense amount of time upon them; and these tasks occupied all the spare moments of his remaining years. The results are gathered in the published volume, — a work of infinite value, which, if he had shrunk from undertaking it, would not have been achieved at all during the present generation. At the conclusion of the Introduction, he said: "I have a good hope of supplementing this volume by another of a more practical character, . . . giving a concise statement of the existing Law of Evidence." But this hope remains unrealized. "The ploughshare is left in the furrow." The dream of his later years is unfulfilled.

While the profession is grateful for what our friend has given us in the way of legal authorship, yet lawyers will ask each other: Why was not more work completed in all these years and given to the world; why were not his wider plans of book-making fully carried out? To these questions more than one answer can be given. First: Professor Thayer had an absolute horror of what some one calls "immature authorship and premature publication." We may well apply to him some of the words which Stuart Mill uses in reference to John Austin: "He had so high a standard of what ought to be done, so exaggerated a sense of deficiencies in his own performances," that he accomplished less in the way of authorship than he seemed capable of; "but what he did produce is held in the very highest estimation by the most competent judges." Professor Thayer is fully entitled to the encomium

which the officiating clergyman, at the funeral of Dr. Bishop, pronounced upon that distinguished jurist: "No page, no line, no word ever left this man's hand for the printer, until it was as perfect as he had power to make it."

Another reason for the failure of Professor Thayer to accomplish more in the line of legal authorship is one that is most creditable to his kindly and helpful nature. He repeatedly, we might almost say daily, turned aside from his own work to render assistance to other writers, often to those whose subjects were entirely outside of law. His services as a critic and reviser were frequently sought by friends, and were always cheerfully given. When a manuscript had received the benefit of his revision, it was reasonably certain to be in good taste and in good English. A list of the works whose authors are indebted in this way to Professor Thayer would show why he had not more time for his own books. Instead of concentrating his energies on attaining fame and fortune for himself, he preferred to pause by the wayside in order to render unpaid service to his friends. Those who are familiar with a certain memorial poem of Whittier's cannot but think of the lines —

> All hearts grew warmer in the presence
> Of one who, seeking not his own,
> Gave freely for the love of giving,
> Nor reaped for self the harvest sown.

Professor Thayer's services as a teacher of law can be best described by those who have been his pupils; and one of them will speak of him in the Harvard Law Review; but a few words may be said here. He made teaching his first object. No matter what other work he had on hand, no matter how many previous classes had been carried by him over the same ground, he always made careful preparation for each new meeting of the class. In one respect our friend's innate modesty may have been a disadvantage to him as a teacher. I suspect that it sometimes led him to refrain from putting due emphasis on his own original views; and this may have prevented the poorer part of the class from fully appreciating the intrinsic importance of those views. But he kept steadily in sight the salient points and fundamental distinctions, and these were generally grasped and retained by the better men. In this

connection I might cite the testimony given to me before Professor Thayer's death by one of his former pupils, who had been out of the Law School seven years. "When we were in the Law School," said he, "we sometimes complained of lack of definiteness on Professor Thayer's part; but now that we have been in practice all this time, we find that what he said stands by us better than what was said by anybody else."

The fear has often been expressed that, with the great increase in the number of law students, the personal relation between teacher and pupil would cease to exist; but on the day of Professor Thayer's funeral, convincing proof was afforded of the regard in which he was held by his pupils. In the midst of the severest storm of the winter, five hundred students came out to escort the procession from the house to Appleton Chapel.

As a conversationalist, I have known only three men whom I should put in the same class with Professor Thayer. There was always the right word and the right turn given to each phrase, with no appearance of effort, no display of learning, and never the remotest suspicion of talking for momentary effect. He was with his pen equal to what he was in speech. He was the one to whom we all turned when memorials and epitaphs were to be written. We all feel to-day that the lips are silent which alone could pay a worthy tribute to such a man.

A welcome guest in all social circles, Professor Thayer was, nevertheless, entitled to the high praise which was bestowed on another eminent Massachusetts lawyer, "That the best wine of his companionship was kept for his own home." And I cannot refrain from adding that it was an ideal home.

Until within a twelvemonth, Professor Thayer was a remarkably vigorous man for his years, but he began lately to be conscious of some diminution of physical strength. In July he wrote to me from Bar Harbor that, if he could complete a second volume on Evidence during the next college year, he should be tempted to drop that part of his school work and keep only Constitutional Law, adding, "If, indeed, by that time, I be not ripe for going on the shelf entirely." "The head," he said, "seems all right yet, — so far as I can judge, — but in other regions time is telling. Fast walking and mountain climbing are for others now."

The end came suddenly, but now that the first shock is over,

his friends can hardly regret that he was spared the alternative of a long and painful season of ill health. Rather would we say of him: *Felix non tantum claritate vitae, sed etiam opportunitate mortis.*

The CHAIRMAN: —

The Dean of the Law School Faculty, I am sure, will not fail to respond to my call.

Mr. JAMES BARR AMES said: —

It was my privilege to be a colleague of Professor Thayer throughout the twenty-eight years of his service in the Harvard Law School. Before his return to the School, he had declined the offer of a professorship in the English Department of the College. Although his rare gift for thoughtful, graceful, and effective writing could not have failed to make him highly successful as a teacher of English, his decision not to give up his chosen profession was doubtless a wise one. Certainly, it was a fortunate one for the Law School and for the law.

During the early years of his service, he lectured on a variety of legal topics, but Evidence and Constitutional Law were especially congenial to him, and in the end he devoted himself exclusively to these two subjects, in each of which he had prepared for the use of his classes an excellent Collection of Cases. Evidence was an admirable field for his powers of historical research and analytical judgment. He recognized that our artificial rules of evidence were the natural outgrowth of trial by jury, and could only be explained by tracing carefully the development of that institution in England. The results of his work appeared in his Preliminary Treatise on the Law of Evidence, a worthy companion of the masterly Origin of the Jury, by the distinguished German, Professor Brunner. His book gave him an immediate reputation, not only in this country, but in England, as a legal historian and jurist of the first rank. An eminent English lawyer, in reviewing it, described it as "a book which goes to the root of the subject more thoroughly than any other text-book in existence."

Only a few days before his death, Professor Thayer talked with me about his plans for the future, saying that he expected to complete his new book on Evidence in the summer of 1908, when he

meant to relinquish that subject and devote the rest of his life to Constitutional Law, with a view to publication.

It is, indeed, a misfortune that these plans were not to be carried out. But although he has published no treatise upon Constitutional Law, he has achieved by his essays, by his Collection of Cases, and by his teaching, a reputation in that subject hardly second to his rank in Evidence. To the few who knew of it, President McKinley's wish to make Professor Thayer a member of the present Philippine Commission seemed a natural and most fitting recognition of his eminence as a constitutional lawyer, and, if he had deemed it wise to accept the position offered to him, no one can doubt that the appointment would have commanded universal approval.

Wherever the Harvard Law School is known, he has been recognized for many years as one of its chief ornaments. When, in 1900, the Association of American Law Schools was formed, it was taken for granted by all the delegates that Professor Thayer was to be its first president. No one can measure his great influence upon the thousands of his pupils. While at the School, they had a profound respect for his character and ability, and they realized that they were sitting at the feet of a master of his subjects. In their after life, his precept and example have been, and will continue to be, a constant stimulus to genuine, thorough, and finished work, and a constant safeguard against hasty generalization or dogmatic assertion. His quick sympathy, his unfailing readiness to assist the learner, out of the class-room as well as in it, and his attractive personality, gave him an exceptionally strong hold upon the affections of the young men. Their attitude towards him is well expressed in a letter that came to me this morning from a recent graduate of the School, who describes him as "one of the best known, best liked, and strongest of the law professors."

The relations of the law professors are probably closer than those of any other department of the University. No one who has not known, as his colleagues have known, the charm of his daily presence and conversation, and the delightful quality of his vacation letters, can appreciate the deep and abiding sense of the irreparable loss they have suffered in the death of Professor Thayer.

In our great grief, we find our chief comfort in the thought of

his simple and beautiful life, greatly blessed in his home and family, rich in choice friendships, crowned with the distinction that comes only to the possessor of great natural gifts nobly used, full of happiness to himself, and giving in abundant measure happiness and inspiration to others.

The CHAIRMAN: —

Mr. Edes has been associated here with Professor Thayer from the earliest days of the Society. I will ask him to add a word.

Mr. HENRY H. EDES responded as follows: —

MR. CHAIRMAN, — After the affectionate and discriminating tributes which have been paid this afternoon to the memory of our friend and associate, I should not attempt to add to them had not the President, before leaving Cambridge, urged me to say something of Mr. Thayer's connection with this Society and of his loyalty and devoted service to it; but, Sir, your own remarks in announcing the passing of Mr. Thayer and the admirable Minute which Mr. Davis has presented for our consideration, have left little for me to say.

When, in the summer and autumn of 1892, I was noting the names of the persons who should be asked to attend, in December, the preliminary conference which resulted in the organization of this Society, Mr. Thayer's was one of the first to be placed on the list. I well remember the cordiality with which he consented to append his signature to the Articles of Association; and from that moment he was constant in his devotion to the best interests of the new organization. None who heard them, I am sure, will ever forget his beautiful tributes to Dr. Gould and to his classmate Ware at the meetings which followed their deaths; neither shall we forget the charm and brilliancy and wit of his after-dinner speeches, nor the dignity and grace and felicity with which he presided at our Annual Dinner in 1896, when Dr. Gould's failing health precluded him from exercising that function. It is pleasant, too, to remember that it was at a Stated Meeting of this Society that Mr. Thayer made the first public announcement of the fact that the Corporation of Harvard College had reëstablished the Lady Mowlson Scholarship, founded in 1643.

As we go on in life, and the circle of our older friends grows smaller, there are few things which a man craves more than the respect and love of those younger than himself. Mr. Thayer had a remarkable faculty of attracting and holding the affection of younger men. He believed in them, and was always ready, when opportunity offered, to use his powerful influence to secure for them, according to their deserts, that recognition and some of those honors and preferments which his own splendid scholarship and attainments had won for himself.

The simplicity of Mr. Thayer's home life was most beautiful, and those who were admitted to its privileges will never forget the genuine New England hospitality which had there its consummate flower or the gracious presence and loveliness of character of her who shared with him the joys and sorrows of that ideal home.

STATED MEETING OF THE COUNCIL,

6 MARCH, 1902.

A STATED MEETING of the Council was held on Thursday, 6 March, 1902, at three o'clock in the afternoon.

Present, Messrs. Henry Winchester Cunningham, Henry Herbert Edes, Frederick Lewis Gay, Albert Matthews, and S. Lothrop Thorndike.

Mr. S. LOTHROP THORNDIKE occupied the chair.

The following is an extract from the Records of the Meeting:

FISHER AVENUE,
BROOKLINE, MASSACHUSETTS,
March 6, 1902.

TO THE PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL,
COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS.

DEAR SIRS, —

In the Report of the Council read at the Annual Meeting, November, 1894, Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis called attention to the fact that the early Records of Harvard College had not been printed, and that it was not probable that the College would publish them. He pointed out that by doing such a work we could demonstrate the usefulness of our Society. Hoping that you will see fit to carry out his suggestion, and knowing the mass of material there awaiting the student's digestion, I make this proposition:

I will pay the cost of transcribing for the printer Volumes I, III, IV, V. I will also give up to $2,000 towards the cost of publishing one volume of our Publications containing the same (or as much as one volume will cover), the size of the edition to be the same as that of our Volume III, and no larger.

Respectfully yours,
FRED'K L. GAY.

Voted, That in gratefully accepting the munificent gift which Mr. Gay has offered to the Society, the Council wishes to place upon its

Records an expression of its appreciation of Mr. Gay's deep and constant and generous interest in the Society and its work, of which he has given in the past so many tangible proofs.

Voted, That the Corresponding Secretary be requested to apply, on behalf of the Council, to the Corporation of Harvard College for permission to print its early Records in the manner contemplated by the Society.

Voted, That the publication of the proposed volume of Collections be committed to the hands of a Special Committee of which Mr. Gay shall be the Chairman, the other members to be named at a future meeting of the Council.[1]

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[1] At the meeting of the Council held 3 April, 1902, the Corresponding Secretary reported that he had conferred with the Corporation of Harvard College, and that it had granted to the Colonial Society permission to print its early Records. At a subsequent meeting of the Council, Messrs. William C. Lane and Albert Matthews were appointed the other two members of the Special Committee.

MARCH MEETING, 1902.

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at No. 25 Beacon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 27 March, 1902, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE, LL.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that a letter had been received from Mr. FRANCIS APTHORP FOSTER accepting Resident Membership.

The PRESIDENT announced the death in London on the sixth instant of BENJAMIN FRANKLIN STEVENS, L.H.D., a Corresponding Member.

Mr. ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS gave a sketch of the careers of Mr. Stevens and of his brother, the late Henry Stevens, as booksellers, publishers, and antiquarians. Mr. Davis spoke of the many sumptuous volumes printed for them, and exhibited a copy of The New Laws of the Indies, privately printed in 1893, which contains an interesting dedication to the Hon. JOHN CHANDLER BANCROFT DAVIS, another Corresponding Member of the Society.

Mr. GEORGE FOX TUCKER read a paper on Captain Bartholomew Gosnold and his landing at Cuttyhunk, where it is proposed to erect during the coming summer a shaft seventy-five feet high to commemorate the tercentenary of the event.

Mr. HENRY H. EDES spoke as follows:

I wish to call the attention of the Society to a misapprehension which has existed for at least sixty years, not only in this community, but among scholars and in the popular mind throughout

the country. I refer to the honor attributed to Washington of being the first person upon whom Harvard College conferred the degree of Doctor of Laws. Until within two years I supposed that this claim — advanced by others, but never by Washington himself — was well founded, but while making, for another purpose, a critical examination of the Quinquennial Catalogue of the University issued in 1900 under the editorship of our associate Mr. Noyes, I discovered that the claim was without foundation. It was my intention to communicate this fact to the Society at its next meeting, but circumstances prevented me from so doing and the matter was, for the time, forgotten. Quite recently, it was forcibly recalled to my mind when, on glancing through a copy of the Harvard Graduates' Magazine for June of last year, I found the misstatement repeated, — this time by one of the professors of history in Harvard University. It is, therefore, important that public attention should be called to the facts in the case.

In President Quincy's History of Harvard University, written at the request of the Corporation and published in 1840, is the following passage:

> After the evacuation of the town of Boston by the British troops, which took place on the 17th of March, 1776, congratulatory addresses from towns and legislatures were universally presented to General Washington, for the signal success which had attended his measures. The Corporation and Overseers, in accordance with the prevailing spirit and as an "expression of the gratitude of this College for his eminent services in the cause of his country and to this society," conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Laws, by the unanimous vote of both boards. General Washington was the first individual on whom this degree was conferred by Harvard College. The Diploma was signed by all the members of the Corporation except John Hancock, who was then in Philadelphia, and it was immediately published in the newspapers of the period, with an English translation (ii. 167).[1]

[1] It is remarkable that, in a foot-note to this very passage, Quincy refers to the text of the diploma, which he prints in an Appendix (ii. 506, 507), without noticing that the document bears the signature of the man who was entitled to the honor he was claiming for Washington, and that the letters LL.D. are appended to the signature.

Peirce's History of Harvard University is not brought down beyond the close of President Holyoke's administration.

Turning to Samuel Atkins Eliot's Sketch of the History of Harvard College and of its Present State, published in 1848, we find this statement:

Another event, of a more agreeable character, was the bestowing of an honorary degree on General Washington, after his brilliant success in driving the British forces from Boston. This was the first doctorate of laws ever conferred by Harvard College; and, though it may not seem a peculiarly appropriate reward for military achievements, yet it must be remembered that Washington was not merely a military man; that he had already given large evidence, in his native state, of that wisdom, moderation, ability, and constancy, which mark a man likely to prove equal to all occasions, and to influence all the circumstances by which he may be surrounded. It was to the civilian, and not to the successful military commander, that the degree was given; and if, at the moment, there were any deficiency of proof of his actual attainments to justify the compliment, it must have been revealed to the prophetic eye of the College government, that the time was not far distant when the degree would derive honor from having been conferred on him. Never, in the history of nations, has there been a more difficult and delicate task than fell to the lot of our fathers in devising and organizing a form of government; and never was there an occasion when a knowledge of every kind of law, "*utriusque juris, tum naturæ et gentium, tum civilis*," was more imperatively demanded by the exigencies of the case, or more satisfactorily exhibited by the leading minds of the country. Among them Washington was conspicuous; and when it became his duty to support the Constitution adopted, and to execute the laws framed under it, no man could have shown a more enlightened and comprehensive acquaintance with his legal duties. It was the union of high intellectual and moral qualities, which produced the matchless character that can scarcely be too greatly admired and loved.

It was not inappropriate, then, for the College to testify its respect for such a man, in the only way in its power; by conferring a degree which, even at that time, was suited to the capacity he had shown, and which was destined to be rendered a greater honor to all others, from its having been received by Washington. Nor can this act be urged as a reason for doing the same to other holders of office, whether military or civil, unless, like him, they confer dignity on the place they fill, rather than derive from it their own title to respect (pp. 83, 84).

In the Harvard Graduates' Magazine for June, 1901, Professor Albert Bushnell Hart says:

In 1776, General George Washington received the first LL.D. ever granted by Harvard University (ix. 516).

Here, indeed, is an array of authorities which has warranted the general reader, at least, in believing that Washington was fairly entitled to the honor claimed for him; but in point of fact, Washington is not entitled to the distinction of having been the first recipient of this degree from our oldest University. Three years before the Doctorate of Laws was conferred upon Washington, the following action was taken by the Corporation:

At a Meeting of the President and Fellows,

July 21st 1773

being Commencement Day.

Present

THE PRESIDENT	DR. ELIOT
DR. APPLETON	DR. COOPER
DR. WINTHROP	MR. ELIOT

. . . . . .

[Voted] That the degree of Doctor of Divinity be conferred on the Rev'd Mr. Samuel Mather of Boston.

That Professor Winthrop be desired to accept of the degree of Doctor of Laws.

That the President be desired to accept of the degree of Doctor of Divinity (College Book No. 7, p. 260).[1]

The Boston Gazette of Saturday, 26 July, 1773 (No. 995, p. 3/1), printed the following account of Commencement that year:

BOSTON, July 26.

WEDNESDAY being the Anniversary Commencement at HARVARD-COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, after the prefatory Prayer by the Rev'd President LOCKE, the Exercises of the Morning by the Candidates for the Bachellors Degree began with a salutatory Oration in Latin, then followed the syllogistic Disputes on various Subjects — to these

[1] Our associate Mr. William Coolidge Lane writes: —

Curiously enough, the degrees conferred this year were not confirmed by the Overseers. At least, there is no record of them in the Overseers' Records, while Dr. Appleton's degree, in 1771, was confirmed with many complimentary remarks.

succeeded a forensic Dispute on the Legality of enslaving the Africans — a Dialogue in Latin — a Dialogue in Arabic — An English Oration on the Progress and Advantages of the Arts and Sciences.

The Exercises in the Afternoon by the Candidates for the Masters Degree, began with a Dialogue on Music and Poetry, in English — the syllogistic Disputes in Latin followed — An Oration in the Indian Language was delivered by an Indian Missionary — An Oration in English on the Advantages of the Study of the Laws of England concluded their Performances: The several Degrees were conferred in the usual Manner on the following young Gentlemen, viz.

Bachellors of Arts.

. . . . . .

Masters of Arts.

. . . . . .

Rev'd Joseph Howe, graduated at Yale-College — Mr. Thomas Melville, graduated at New-Jersey College, were admitted ad eundem.

The Degree of Doctor in Divinity was conferred on the Rev'd SAMUEL LOCKE, President of Harvard-College, — and on the Rev'd SAMUEL MATHER, of this town. Also

The Degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred on the Honorable Professor WINTHROP, pro meritis.

Born in Boston, 8 December, 1714,[1] namesake and fourth in descent from the Founder of Boston, John Winthrop graduated from Harvard College in 1732, and, in 1738, was appointed Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, — a chair which he filled with distinction for more than forty years and until

[1] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xxiv. 101. Professor Winthrop was baptized at the Second Church in Boston, 12 December, 1714. *Cf.* Muskett's Suffolk Manorial Families (1894), i. Part I. 26; and Paige's History of Cambridge, p. 700, in both of which the date of Professor Winthrop's birth is given as 19 December, 1714. This last mentioned date is given in a footnote to p. 21 of a memorial Discourse delivered by Professor Wigglesworth, and appears to have been accepted ever since by biographers and genealogists. The change, in 1752, from Old Style to New Style will readily account for the discrepancy.

Since this paper was communicated to the Society, Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., has found among the unpublished Winthrop manuscripts a fragmentary memorandum in the handwriting of Judge Adam Winthrop concerning his children in which occurs the following passage:

1714. Decembr. 8th Wednesday about half an hour before one o'clock in the morning my Wife was dd of a son who was the next Sabbath baptized John at the North Church by Dr Cotton Mather.

his death. His attainments in science brought him the friendship of Franklin[1] and the recognition of learned bodies at home and abroad, the American Philosophical Society and the Royal Society of London electing him to fellowship.[2] From 1765 till 1779, he was a Fellow of the Corporation of Harvard College and in that capacity he signed the diploma given to General Washington, 3 April, 1776,[3] — "Johannes Winthrop, LL.D., Mat. et Phil. P. Hol." He was twice elected to the Presidency of the College, — in 1769 and 1774, but declined the honor. He sat in the House, where he rendered conspicuous service on the popular side, and was elected to the Council, where he served in 1773, but the next year he was negatived by the Royal Governor. In 1774, he was chosen a delegate to the Provincial Congress; and in the following year he resumed his seat at the Council Board, and was appointed Judge of Probate for the County of Middlesex, an office which he held at the time of his death, which occurred at Cambridge, on the third of May, 1779, at the age of 64.[4] Eleven years

[1] A letter from Professor Winthrop to Franklin, dated 26 October, 1770, will be found in 1 Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for October, 1876, xv. 12, 13. Letters which passed between Professor Winthrop and John Adams are printed in 5 Massachusetts Historical Collections, iv. 291–313. One of these letters, written 29 May, 1775, is addressed "To the Honorable John Winthrop, Esq., LL.D."

[2] The University of Edinburgh conferred the degree of Doctor of Laws upon Professor Winthrop in 1771, two years before he received it from his Alma Mater. The Boston Gazette of Monday, 18 November, 1771, No. 867, p. 3/1, contains the following paragraph:

> We hear that Capt. Coffin from London has brought a Diploma from the University of Edinburgh, conferring on JOHN WINTHROP, Esq; Professor of Mathematics and Philosophy at Cambridge, and F.R.S. the Degree of DOCTOR OF LAWS.

The Latin text of this diploma was copied into one of the volumes containing the Records of the Corporation of Harvard College, — iii. 28, *back*.

[3] Mr. Matthews sends me the following interesting item:

> We hear, That on Wednesday last the Rev. President, Fellows and Overseers of Harvard College, waited on his Excellency General *Washington*, with an *Address*, conferring on him the Degree of *Doctor of Laws* (Boston Gazette of Monday, 8 April, 1776, No. 1090, p. 2/2).

[4] The Independent Chronicle of Friday, 7 May, 1779 (No. 559, p. 3/3), contains the following announcement:

> Monday last died at Cambridge, that great scholar and excellent man, the honorable JOHN WINTHROP, Esq; Hollisian Professor of the Mathematics in Harvard College.

Funeral discourses on Professor Winthrop were delivered by the Rev. Stephen Sewall, the Rev. Samuel Langdon, and the Rev. Edward Wigglesworth. In

A.W. Elson & Co. Boston

John Winthrop

Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
from a portrait by Copley
in possession of Harvard University

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olutionary period, in the forum and upon the bench, were of a high order, that belongs the distinction of being the first alumnus and the first individual to receive from Harvard College the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS remarked:

In glancing through the newspapers of that period, I have not infrequently noticed communications which were evidently written by Professor Winthrop. Some of these, if my recollection is good, were signed with his name, others with the initials J. W., while some were anonymous; but I do not think there need be any hesitation in attributing them to Professor Winthrop. They dealt with earthquakes, thunder-storms, electricity, comets, meteors, and such natural phenomena.[1]

About a fortnight ago, while examining some Boston papers of 1776, I stumbled on the Washington diploma; and when Mr. Edes told me last week that he intended making some remarks about it to-day, I said that I would bring a copy. As Quincy states, the diploma was printed in the Boston papers both in Latin and in English. The Latin text was given by Quincy himself,[2] and has been printed by Mr. Ford;[3] but so far as I know the English text has never been reprinted.[4] Eliot could scarcely have read the diploma with attention, for part of what he says is rather wide of the mark. The English text is as follows:

The CORPORATION of HARVARD COLLEGE in Cambridge, in New-England, to all the faithful in Christ, to whom these Presents shall come, GREETING.

WHEREAS Academical Degrees were originally instituted for this Purpose, That Men, eminent for Knowledge, Wisdom and Virtue, who

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[1] Professor Winthrop published the following pamphlets: A Lecture on Earthquakes, Boston, 1755; Two Lectures on Comets, Boston, 1759; Relation of a Voyage from Boston to Newfoundland, for The Observation of the Transit of Venus, Boston, 1761; Cogitata de Cometis, Londini, 1767; Two Lectures on the Parallax and Distance of the Sun, as deducible from The Transit of Venus, Boston, 1769.

[2] History of Harvard University, ii. 506, 507.

[3] Writings of Washington, iv. 6, 7 *note*.

[4] Mr. Kittredge points out (The Old Farmer and his Almanack, p. 237 *note*) that it was printed in J. T. Buckingham's Specimens of Newspaper Literature (1850), pp. 223, 224.

have highly merited of the Republick of Letters and the Common-Wealth, should be rewarded with the Honor of these Laurels; there is the greatest Propriety in conferring such Honor on that very illustrious Gentleman, *GEORGE WASHINGTON*, Esq; the accomplished General of the confederated Colonies in America; whose Knowledge and patriotic Ardor are manifest to all: Who, for his distinguished Virtues, both Civil and Military, in the first Place being elected by the Suffrages of the Virginians, one of their Delegates, exerted himself with Fidelity and singular Wisdom in the celebrated *Congress of America*, for the Defence of Liberty, when in the utmost Danger of being for ever lost, and for the Salvation of his Country; and then, at the earnest Request of that Grand Council of Patriots, without Hesitation, left all the Pleasures of his delightful Seat in Virginia, and the Affairs of his own Estate, that through all the Fatigues and Dangers of a Camp, without accepting any Reward, he might deliver *New-England* from the unjust and cruel Arms of Britain, and defend the other Colonies; and Who, by the most signal Smiles of Divine Providence on his Military Operations, drove the Fleet and Troops of the Enemy with disgraceful Precipitation from the Town of Boston, which for eleven Months had been shut up, fortified, and defended by a Garrison of above seven Thousand Regulars; so that the Inhabitants, who suffered a great Variety of Hardships and Cruelties while under the Power of their Oppressors, now rejoice in their Deliverance, the neighbouring Towns are freed from the Tumults of Arms, and our University has the agreeable Prospect of being restored to its antient Seat.

Know ye therefore, that We, the President and Fellows of Harvard-College in Cambridge, (with the Consent of the Honored and Reverend Overseers of our Academy) have constituted and created the aforesaid Gentleman, GEORGE WASHINGTON, who merits the highest Honor, DOCTOR of LAWS, the Law of Nature and Nations, and the Civil Law; and have given and granted him at the same Time all Rights, Privileges, and Honors to the said Degree pertaining.

In Testimony whereof, We have affixed the Common Seal of our University to these Letters, and subscribed them with our Hand writing this Third Day of April in the Year of our Lord one Thousand seven Hundred Seventy-six.[1]

In the discussion which followed, remarks were made by the PRESIDENT and by Mr. CHARLES A. SNOW.

[1] New England Chronicle of Thursday, 25 April, 1776, No. 401, p. 1. The diploma was also printed in the Boston Gazette of Monday, 15 April, 1776, No. 1091, p. 1.

Mr. DENISON R. SLADE read a paper on the portraits of Montcalm, which he illustrated by an oil portrait of the Marquis which he had bought at auction in Boston a few years ago. It is said to be the only oil portrait of Montcalm in America. Mr. Slade also exhibited a view of the Château de Candiac, where the Marquis was born, and several photographs and engravings of persons and places mentioned in the paper. Mr. Slade concluded by giving the following list of the portraits of Montcalm:[1]

1. Lithograph (1830 ?). An engraving after the same original is to be found in Parkman's Montcalm and Wolfe.

2. Mezzotint. Colored. Sergent del. & sculp. 1790. Paris. Bust in oval. Armor. Front. There is a modern reprint of the colored mezzotint.

3. Etching by H. B. Hall, Morrisania, N. Y., 1868. (Private Plate.) Apparently after the picture in the possession of the Marquis of Montcalm, also reproduced in Parkman's Montcalm and Wolfe.

4. Steel engraving. J. B. Massé pinx. A.P.D.R. J. Barbié sculpt. Dedie a M^r. son fils le Chev^r. de Montcalm, Major du Reg^t. R^l Normandie. A Paris, chez Ysabey, M^e d'Estampes. Seven lines engraved, telling of his victory at Ticonderoga over Loudon and Abercrombie in 1758, and of his death in 1759.

5. Montcalm's Headquarters, Quebec. He died here 14 September, 1759. 12°. Etching on 4° paper.

6. Montcalm trying to stop the Massacre. Darley del. A. Bellott (?) sc. Oblong 8°. Tinted woodcut.

7. Montcalm, Mort de. Desfontaines del. Moret Sculp. 1789. Printed in colors, similar to Sergent.

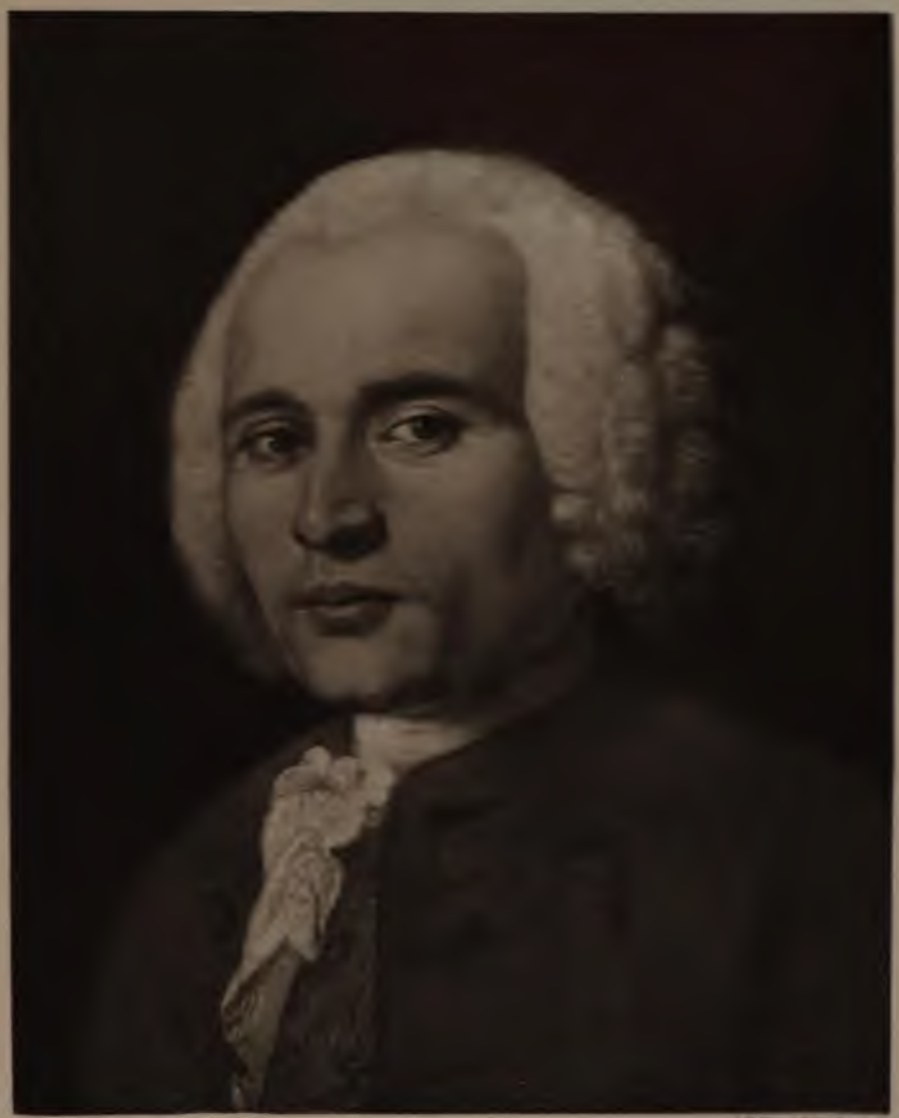
8. Montcalm. Delalive del^t. Landon direx^t. Histoire de France. 12°.

9. Montcalm by Alix in colors.

10. Montcalm, L. J., Marquis de. Within oval, in uniform, head to right, view of burial underneath. 8°.

11. Montcalm and his Officers. By Watteau. Described by Pouchot, Memoir upon the late War in North America, i. 218, 219. Mr. Slade

[1] In the course of his remarks, Mr. Slade alluded to a rare volume printed at Paris in 1868 — Montcalm et le Canada, by Félix Joubleau. It was picked up in Paris by Mr. Victor H. Paltsits of the Lenox Library, by whom it was sold to the Pequot Library, Southport, Connecticut. Mr. Paltsits doubts whether Parkman ever saw the book.



Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
from an original in the possession of
Denison Rogers Slade, Esquire

owns an engraving with the following inscription: "Vateau delineavit. Grave par G. Chevillet, Graveur de Sa M.I.: Mort Du Marquis De Montcalm. Dedie au Roi."

12. Montcalm, Louis Joseph, Marquis de, Lieutenant General des Armees de France. "*Non sibi, Sed Patriæ vixit.*" Reproduced in the Narrative and Critical History of America from Charles de Bonnechose's Montcalm et le Canada Français.[1]

13. There is a bust of Montcalm in the Historical Museum at Versailles.

Mr. WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE exhibited two miniatures — one of Henry Hamilton, Lieutenant-Governor of Detroit, the other of his wife, Elizabeth Lee — lately received by the Library of Harvard College from Mrs. C. L. Rice, a great-granddaughter of Governor Hamilton's brother, of Grange Erin, County Cork, Ireland.

Mr. LANE also remarked upon two interesting manuscripts of Hamilton, received from the same source, one of which he had shown at the previous January meeting of the Society;[2] and spoke as follows:

The first of these manuscripts is a Journal of the British expedition from Detroit which Hamilton conducted in 1778–79, and which effected the capture of Vincennes. The Journal extends from 6 August, 1778, two months before the starting of the expedition, and ends 16 June, 1779, on the arrival of the author as a captive in the hands of the Americans at Williamsburg, Virginia. The other manuscript is a volume of reminiscences, written in 1792 while the author was Governor of Bermuda, and begins with his early experiences as a private in the 15th Regiment. This regiment was stationed at several different posts in England from 1755 to 1758. In 1758 it was sent to Halifax, and was present at

[1] See v. 548 and *note* for references to other portraits. In 1761 J. P. de Bougainville wrote Pitt for permission to send an epitaph engraved on marble for the Ursuline Church in Quebec. There is reason to believe that the marble was shipped, but there is no record that it reached its destination. See Annual Register for 1762, pp. 266–268; Warburton, Conquest of Canada, ii. 491–494; Pouchot, Memoir, ii. 263–266.

[2] See p. 274, above.

the siege of Louisburg, in that year. Lieutenant Hamilton was wounded in the hand during the siege, and in December was granted leave of absence from his post, and embarked for Boston, arriving safely after experiencing severe storms and suffering from lack of provisions on the way. He visited Newport and Philadelphia, and returned by sea to Halifax in May, 1759, just in time to join his regiment for the attack on Quebec. On the eighteenth of June, the regiment arrived off the Isle aux Coudres, where they found Sir Charles Hardy's squadron at anchor. On the appearance of the fleet under Admiral Saunders, they proceeded up the river, and landed on the Isle of Orleans near the Church of St. Lawrence. Later, a detachment, including Lieutenant Hamilton, was set across to take the pass at Point Levi, and occupied the Parish Church there.

Some details are given of the skirmish above the Falls of Montmorency and of the general attack on Montmorency on the thirty-first of July. Next, the writer gives an account of the diversion made early in September at Deschambault when a sloop and a schooner further up the river were burned, and of the attempted landing at the Pointe aux Trembles. His account of the ascent of the steep bank to the Plains of Abraham, of the battle there, and of the capture of Quebec is graphic, but seems to contain no new facts. The 15th Regiment was stationed at Quebec during the winter, but Hamilton and a detachment were ordered, as a safeguard, to the Nunnery at the General Hospital, where he made friends with several of the French prisoners; and he expresses great admiration for the skill and generous service of the nuns. Early in the spring he returned to garrison duty at Quebec. He tells of the prisoner rescued from the ice in the river on the twenty-sixth of April, who gave the garrison the first notice of the approach of the French from Montreal.

On the twenty-eighth of April, in the course of the attack on Quebec, he was captured and taken to the same hospital where a few weeks before he had been stationed as a guard. The following is his account of his capture:

So, bereft of council when the French miscellany came down, my brave fellows being cool and collected gave a fire, but observing that their right had disappeared, thought it high time to join them. However, I declare they twice faced about and by word of command fired

on the pursuers, who indeed were not formidable; for if we fled like quicksilver, they pursued with the composure and gravity of a cathedral. I, poor I, at length fagged, disheartened, unbreakfasted, booted, wet and dirty, concluded I should be arrested by a ball in my back, that there was nothing but vanity in resisting, and vexation of spirit in running away from Frenchmen, so I *bravely* stood my ground, for I was done up, and two soldiers of the Regiment de la Reine *me couchèrent en joue*. . . . I begged to be led to some officer. They took me to the adjutant of the Regiment de Berri. I ought to be ashamed that his name should have lost a place in my memory. "Sir," said he, "your situation is very dangerous, the savages are at hand, exchange uniforms with me, I will furnish you an escort." I was about excusing myself, because my uniform was of soldier's cloath and my waistcoat striped flannel, but, as he said, 'twas not a time for ceremony. I accepted his coat, turned my waistcoat, mounted his white cockade, and then thankfully taking my leave of this generous officer, I turned to my escort, and with the authority of an officer wearing a French cockade, cried, *Allons, mes enfans, marchez.* They relished the gasconade, and faithfully escorted me to an officer of artillery, who directed them to proceed to the rear and deliver me to Monsieur de Boishebert, who commanded a party, I believe, composed of Indians and Canadians.

Later, Lieutenant Hamilton was conveyed to Montreal, and finally sent to New York to be exchanged. On the way a stop was made at Crown Point, where, Hamilton says, —

I met my valued friend, Rich[d] Montgomery, afterwards the most capable officer in the service of the Rebel Americans.

After being exchanged, Hamilton returned to Canada in the fall and spent the winter at Quebec, but in June, 1761, went back to New York with his regiment, which was encamped on Staten Island. Being troubled with the ague, he was allowed to go into East Jersey, and there, on a tavern sign near the Passaic, he painted a view of the Falls of the Passaic.

On the eleventh of October the regiment sailed for Martinique, which they reached 2 January, 1762. Hamilton writes:

At the same time that we viewed with pleasure the bold scenery, we could not but think upon the uncommon strength of a country, which showed us deep ravines to pass and steep hills to climb. . . . On the day [of] our landing (7[th] Jany, '62), a most magnificent and interesting

scene presented. The numerous men of war and transports beating up to windward in Fort Royal [now Fort de France] Harbor, the view of the forts and batteries on shore firing upon our frigates which were cannonading them, the sight of Pigeon Island, Fort Royal, the heights of Tartenson, Garnier, the Capuchins, formed altogether a noble spectacle. We landed in the afternoon about 3 miles from Fort Royal (the coast batteries being all silenced) and lay upon our arms.

Here Governor Hamilton's journal unfortunately breaks off, and the blotter which he was using is left in its place between the pages. Had he continued his reminiscences, he would have told us of the capture of Havana, where the regiment was stationed for eleven months, and of its return in 1763 to New York and by way of Albany and Lake Champlain to Canada. In the summer of 1768 the regiment was sent back to England, and remained at different posts in England, Scotland, and Ireland until early in 1776, when it was sent to Cape Fear, North Carolina, under the command of Cornwallis. Just when Hamilton was detached from the regiment, I do not know, but we find him in September, 1775, leaving Montreal to take charge of the British post at Detroit as Lieutenant-Governor.[1]

In October, 1778, Hamilton set out from Detroit with a small company, and at this point his contemporary journal takes up the story of his life again. He conducted his little company across the end of Lake Erie, up the Maumee and down the Wabash rivers. His account of the difficulty of the journey and of their dealings with the Indians is most interesting, and does not suggest any plausible ground for the name which was given him later by the Americans of "Hair-buying Hamilton," and for the vindictive hatred that was shown to him on account of the popular belief in his offering rewards for scalps rather than for prisoners. After great difficulties and hardships the company reached Vincennes on the seventeenth of December, and finding it quite unprepared for an attack, easily took possession of it. Here they remained through the winter, improving the defences as well as they could and sending out scouting parties as far as Kaskaskia. So successful were they in preventing information of their movements being carried to the

[1] Letters to Sir Guy Carleton and to Gen. Haldimand, successively Governors of Quebec, concerning the affairs of his post and the expected attack of the Americans, will be found in volume ix. of the Michigan Pioneer Collections.

Americans, that it was some weeks before Colonel George Rogers Clark, stationed at Kaskaskia, heard that Vincennes had fallen. With equal perseverance and disregard for hardship, Clark immediately set forth (5 February) to recapture the post, and while Hamilton and his party supposed that access from the south was impossible on account of the water and the flooded condition of the country, Clark's band pushed on through swollen rivers and water-covered plains, and on the twenty-fourth of February recaptured Vincennes and took Hamilton prisoner. In company with others he was taken by the Americans by water down the Wabash and up the Ohio to the Falls of the Ohio, whence they travelled by land to Williamsburg, Virginia. With the arrival at Williamsburg and the lodging of the prisoners in jail, the diary ends 17 June, 1779.

In October a parole was offered to Hamilton and his companions, but it was not of such a nature that they could accept it. The winter was passed at Williamsburg and was attended by great suffering, and it was not until the tenth of October, 1780, that a satisfactory parole was arranged, under which Hamilton was allowed to go to New York to negotiate for his exchange. An exchange was effected on the fourth of March, 1781, and in May he set sail for England, arriving in London on the twenty-first of June. Having shown to Lord George Germain the journal which he had kept, he was advised to write out an account of the expedition to be transmitted to General Haldimand. This he did under date of 6 July, 1781, and this account, founded on the Journal which has lately come into the possession of the Harvard Library, — abbreviated in all that relates to the experiences of the party on their way to Vincennes, and enriched with some details in regard to later occurrences, — has been printed.[1]

The English government soon proposed to send Hamilton back to Canada, and it was suggested by Haldimand that he should be made Lieutenant-Governor. In August, 1782, he was in Quebec, and on the fifteenth of November, 1784, when Governor Haldimand left Canada, Hamilton succeeded him as Deputy-Governor. On the thirteenth of August, 1785, however, he was recalled and on the second of November, 1785, left Quebec. He was soon after appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Bermuda, and was Governor of Bermuda from 1788 to 1794. In 1794 he was transferred to

[1] In volume ix. of the Michigan Pioneer Collections.

Dominica as Governor, and two years later (29 September, 1796), while still holding the office, he died at Antigua, where he had been for some months on account of his health.

Governor Hamilton married Elizabeth, daughter of Colonel Lee, of Banbury, Oxfordshire, and left one child, Mary Anne Pierpoint, who died unmarried on the twelfth of December, 1871. His father was Henry Hamilton, M. P. for Donegal and Collector of the Port of Cork, born February, 1692, and died in 1743. His grandfather was Gustavus Hamilton, the first Viscount Boyne. An older brother of Governor Hamilton was Sackville Hamilton, a Privy Councillor and Chief Secretary for Ireland, whose wife was a daughter of Bishop Berkeley. It is their great-granddaughter, Mrs. Rice, who has had the kindness to send these interesting papers to America and present them to the Harvard Library.

On behalf of Dr. EPHRAIM EMERTON, Mr. JOHN NOBLE communicated a Memoir of the Reverend CHARLES CARROLL EVERETT, which Dr. Emerton had been requested to prepare for publication in the Transactions.

C. C. Everett

MEMOIR

OF THE

REV. CHARLES CARROLL EVERETT, LL.D.

BY

EPHRAIM EMERTON.

CHARLES CARROLL EVERETT, Bussey Professor of Theology and Dean of the Faculty of Divinity in Harvard University, died at Cambridge on the sixteenth of October, 1900. Dr. Everett was born in Brunswick, Maine, on the nineteenth of June, 1829. He was a descendant, on both sides, from good New England stock. His father, Ebenezer Everett, was a son of the Reverend Moses Everett of Dorchester, Massachusetts, whose brother Oliver was the father of Alexander Hill Everett and Edward Everett. Charles Carroll Everett was seventh in descent from Richard Everett, the first American ancestor, who was one of the founders of Dedham, in 1636. His mother, Joanna Batchelder Prince of Beverly, Massachusetts, was one of the first founders of Sunday Schools in America, following, in 1810, the example set shortly before by Robert Raikes in England. Moses Everett was graduated from Harvard College in 1771, and his son Ebenezer in 1806. Fourteen other related Everetts appear on the Quinquennial Catalogue before the name of our late associate.

Dr. Everett was graduated from Bowdoin College in 1850. He appears on the records of the Bowdoin Medical College in the years 1851, 1853, 1854, and 1855, and he was also entered, in the year 1853, as a pupil with a practising physician in the neighborhood. During parts of 1851 and 1852 he was in Europe, and on his return was appointed tutor in modern languages at Bowdoin in 1853 and 1854. From 1853 to 1857, he served as Librarian of the College. In 1855, he was unanimously elected by the Trustees College Professor for one year, and was confirmed by

the Overseers. In 1856, the Trustees elected him full Professor, but the Overseers dissented, and, though he was allowed to continue teaching through that year, a renewed election by the Trustees failed again of confirmation. This difference of opinion between the governing boards had no reference to Dr. Everett's character or capacity; it was occasioned solely by a difference of opinion as to the proper interpretation of a Declaration, made in the year 1841, that Bowdoin College was "of the Orthodox Congregational denomination." On the strength of this Declaration, a considerable sum of money had been procured, and the Overseers took the ground that it should be strictly interpreted in the making of permanent appointments. Dr. Everett's father was an avowed Unitarian, and his own views were growing more decided in that direction. The result of this controversy was that Everett entered the Harvard Divinity School and was graduated there in 1859. For ten years from this time he served as pastor of the Independent Congregational (Unitarian) Church at Bangor, Maine, and this was his only pastorate.

During these years his mind had been occupied with philosophical studies, toward which he had been attracted in Europe. The first fruit was his Science of Thought.[1] In this volume he undertook to present, along quite fresh and original lines, the principles of human knowledge as they were being interpreted by the new school of German thinkers. His work won wide recognition, and was the means of attracting to him the attention of the Harvard Corporation, at that moment busied with the problem of placing theological education at Cambridge on a level with the instruction in all other branches of science. He was called to the Bussey Professorship of Theology in the Harvard Divinity School in 1869 and soon organized that remarkable series of lectures on Theology which continued, down to the time of his death, the chief attraction to students of the School.

Theology, as taught by most schools, was a tolerably dry presentation of a set of dogmas, confirmed and justified by reference to some specific external authority. As taught by Everett, it became a science logically developed from the inherent religious instinct of mankind. His lectures, taken together, constituted

[1] First edition, 1869; second edition, 1890.

a religious philosophy, founded upon a universal human need, wrought out with a continual appeal to common sense and experience and illustrated with convincing sagacity, that carried the hearer steadily forward to clearer and larger insight. It was the dream of his later years to work these lectures over into a final presentation in book form; but increasing infirmity caused him to postpone this work until it was too late. The only record of this great activity is to be found in the note-books of his students, from which, it is still hoped, some adequate reproduction may be made.

In 1878, Dr. Everett was made Dean of the Divinity Faculty, and assumed the functions of administration with the same fidelity which he had brought to his study and his teaching. Under his direction the School was brought more completely into the general current of university life. Its instruction was opened to competent students of other departments; its own students were encouraged to widen their preparation by a larger choice among the courses offered by outside teachers, and its requirements as to scholarship were placed upon the strict graduate basis many years before a similar requirement could be ventured upon by the schools of Law and Medicine. In all these reforms Dr. Everett was a leader. It was his pride to say that the Divinity School was always in the van of university progress. His service as Preacher to the University from 1891 to 1893 was devoted and inspiring.

Dr. Everett's productive activity outside the lecture-room was not great in the volume of its results. It found its scope chiefly in response to some immediate call, the appearance of a new book, the ripening of some current controversy, the appeal of some urgent editorial demand. Its most characteristic expression is found in the volumes of his Essays, — Poetry, Comedy, and Duty, in 1891, and Essays Theological and Literary, mostly reprints from The New World, published in 1901. Besides these, he printed: Fichte's Science of Knowledge in 1884, Ethics for Young People in 1891, and The Gospel of Paul in 1893.

Dr. Everett was married, on the ninth of August, 1859, to Sarah Octavia Dwinel, of Topsham, Maine, who died at Cambridge, Massachusetts, on the sixteenth of February, 1895. They had one daughter, Mildred.

Dr. Everett was a member of the Bowdoin chapter of Phi Beta Kappa and a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He was for many years a member of the American Oriental Society and made valuable contributions to its Journal. Though not in the technical sense of the word an Oriental scholar, his insight into the Eastern philosophies and his power of interpreting them in terms of our own thought gave him a standing among the best American scholars in this branch of learning. He was elected into the Colonial Society of Massachusetts on the nineteenth of April, 1893, and from 1896 to 1899 was a member of the Council. His contributions to our Transactions were Memoirs of Governor William Eustis Russell, in December, 1897, and of the Rev. Dr. Joseph Henry Allen, in December, 1899. Dr. Everett received the degree of S. T. D. from Bowdoin College in 1870 and from Harvard in 1874, and the degree of LL.D. from Bowdoin in 1894.

Personally, Dr. Everett was a charming companion, a devoted friend, quick to respond to every worthy sentiment, keen but charitable in his judgments. His humor pervaded every utterance, no matter how serious. His point of view was always original and always suggestive, opening out before the hearer some solution to his problems unthought of before. It is safe to say that no person of the generation now passing has had greater influence upon the educated ministry of the Liberal Church.

APRIL MEETING, 1902.

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at No. 25 Beacon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 24 April, 1902, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE, LL.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The PRESIDENT appointed the following Committees, in anticipation of the Annual Meeting:

To nominate candidates for the several offices, — Dr. EDWARD H. HALL and Messrs. G. ARTHUR HILTON and FRANCIS H. LINCOLN.

To examine the Treasurer's Accounts, — Messrs. GEORGE V. LEVERETT and F. APTHORP FOSTER.

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS read a paper on Kitty Fisher and Yankee Doodle.

In the absence of Mr. WORTHINGTON C. FORD, Mr. F. APTHORP FOSTER communicated on his behalf an unpublished Diary kept by Washington at Mount Vernon during the months of January, February, March and April, 1786.

DIARY OF GEORGE WASHINGTON.

1 JANUARY - 30 APRIL, 1786.

JANUARY — 1786.

Sunday, 1st.

Thermometer at 36 in the Morn'g. — at noon — and — at night.

Lowering day, with but little wind, and that Easterly.

Lund Washington and wife dined here & returned in the Afternoon.

Mr Shaw went up to Alexandria and stayed all night.

Monday, 2d.

Thermometer at 34 in the Morning 35 at noon — and 35 at night.

Heavy lowering Morning with the wind at east. — about 9 o'clock it began to rain and continued to do so slowly all day.

Immediately after an early breakfast I went out with the Hounds but returned as soon as it began to rain, without touching upon the drag of a Fox.

Mr. Shaw returned from Alexandria this Morning before Breakfast.

Tuesday, 3d.

Thermometer at 39 in the Morning — 46 at noon — and 42 at night.

Clear and pleasant Morning without wind at Sunrising but it soon sprung up from the Southwesterly quarter and veering more to the Westward blew hard until the evening when it again turned calm & very pleasant.

Wednesday, 4th.

Thermometer at 35 in the Morning — 42 at noon — and 40 at night.

Morning calm and clear with very little wind all day.

After breakfast I rid by the places where my muddy hole & Ferry people were clearing — thence to the Mill and Dogue run Plantations — and having the Hounds with me in passing from the latter towards Muddy hole Plantation I found a Fox which after dragging him some distance and running him hard for near an hour was killed by the cross road in front of the house.

Having provided cutting knives and made the boxes at my own shop — I directed my overseers at the several plantations at which I had been to cut straw and mix three 4ths of it with one fourth Bran (from my mill) to feed their out lying Horses — whilst their Work Horses is also to be fed with this and oats mixed.

I also directed that my Chariot Horses — and all others about my home Hc except the Stud horse and three horses which will be frequently rid a hunting to be fed with Bran & chopped Hay in the above proportion — and that my waggon & cart Horses should

be fed with chopped Rye & chopped Hay in the same proportion of one to four.

Mr Bushrod Washington and his wife came here in a chariot 4 horses & 3 servants just after we had dined.

Thursday, 5th.

Thermometer at 33 in the morning — 42 at noon — and 32 at night.

Morning clear & cold, ground hard froze — as it was yesterday Morning — wind at N°West — blowing pretty fresh all day — Went into the Neck —

A Daniel M°Pherson from Loudoun Came here with some money from my Loudoun Tenants, sent by the widow of Lewis Lamar.

The Cape wheat which (on the 30th. of November) was cut not as I thought and had ordered, that is within 4 Inches of the ground but between 6 and 8 from it, having grown a good deal I ordered (and 6 or 8 days ago tho' not noticed before, it was in part done) that it should be again cut. — part of 2 Rows at the No'E: corner were by mistake of orders, cut within 1 or 2 Inches of the ground; so as to shew the crown of the wheat quite bear & white — I thereupon stopped the cutting of any more, resolving to attend to the effect of this close shearing, at this season. — about 12 feet of these Rows, were all that received the second cutting.

Took an acct. of the Tools about the home house which are as follow.

7 Spades.	7 Axes.
4 Mattocks.	8 Butch^{rs} Knives
5 Weed^{g} Hoes.	3. Hill's D°
1 Cutt's. knife.	1 Hay. Ditto.

Friday, 6th.

Thermometer at 30 in the Morn's. — 28 at noon — and 30 at night.

Wind at N°E: in the Morning, which was cloudy, with intervals of snow through the day and very cold. — the wind towards Night getting to the N° Westward, blew h^{d}

My Boat went up with a load of Flour to Alexandria from my Mill for Mr. Hartshorn — a distressing time, it is to be feared the people must have had of it & probably would not, after all, reach the Port.

Saturday, 7th.

Thermometer at 26 in the Morning 34 at noon — and 32 at night. Morning clear with the wind at N°West fresh, and cold, all day, the little snow which fell yesterday had disappeared except in places where the influence of the sun could not be felt.

The Boat which was sent off yesterday with flour got no farther than Johnsons Ferry & there by neglect suffered to get aground — sent and ordered it to be got off and to proceed, or to return, as circumstances might dictate. the last of which was done.

Sunday, 8th.

Thermometer at 27 in the Morn'g. — 38 at noon — and 35 at night.

Day clear with the wind pretty pretty fresh at N°West in the forenoon which moderating as the sun rose backed to Southwest and grew calm towards the evening.

Mr. Bushrod Washington and his wife went away after Breakfast — and about 11 o'clock Betey & Patey Custis returned to Abingdon in my Chariot accompanied by their Brother & Sister, Nelly & Washington Custis.

Sent my Boat of this afternoon with the flour for Alexandria, with which she returned last night on acc't. of the weather.

Monday, 9th.

Thermometer at 28 in the Morn'g. — 38 at noon — and — at night. Wind Southerly all day — clear but a chilly air.

Saturday, Yesterday, and this day morning, the flats and creeks were froze, but that on the former dispersed with the tide when the winds blew, the latter remained.

Sent Mr. Shaw to Alexandria to dispatch my Boat which went up yesterday and to purchase & send down a ton of iron [*blot*] w^ch^ was accordingly — He & the Boat both returned at night.

Rid over my Ferry Plantation thence to the mill, & thence to my Dogue run & Muddy hole Plantations before dinner — as also to the place where my negro Carpenters were at work and directed them to get me a stick for a heavy roller and scantling for Plow stocks — Harrows &c^e^. &c^e^.

Tuesday, 10th.

Thermometer at — in the Morning — at noon and 38 at night,

Wind Southerly all day & at times pretty fresh and in the forenoon cold — but warmer & much pleasanter afterwards.

Rid to my Plantation in the neck, and took the hounds with me — about 11 O'clock found a fox in the Pocoson[1] at Sheredens point, and after running it very indifferently and treeing it once caught it about one O'clock.

In the evening one William Barber from the lower end of Fauquier came here to rent some Land I have in that quarter and stayed all night.

Wednesday, 11th.

Thermometer at 34 in the Morning — 36 at noon — and 33 at night. Morning very thick and heavy about 8 o'clock it began to snow moderately with the wind at S°E: and continued to do so until 12.

Agreed to let William Barber have 50 (or more acres of Land if he chooses it) at the rate of Ten pounds p: Hundred acres; for the term of fourteen years, and to allow him one year free from Rent in consideration of the improvements he may make.

Sent M: Shaw to my mill to get the Mill Book, and to take a state of the flour in the mill.

And sent my overseer to forewarn some persons who were hunting upon my land from the like practice. —

Thursday, 12th.

Thermometer at 28 in the Morning — 39 at noon — and 40 at night.

The snow which fell yesterday had not covered the ground more than ¾ of an inch thick —

A very heavy hoar frost, this morning — day calm, and the evening clear and remarkably pleasant & warm.

M: Shaw went up to the Ball at Alexandria.

[1] For the history and derivation of the word *poquosin*, applied to "low tracts of land in close proximity to creeks or other bodies of water, and occasionally to land subject to overflow from one cause or another," see the American Anthropologist, New Series, i. 162-170.

Friday, 13th.

Thermometer at 32 in the morning — 38 at noon — and 35 at night.

But little wind all day, and that from the No.West — evening quite calm.

Laid out the ground behind the Stable, formerly a Vineyard, for a fruit Garden.

Mr Shaw returned about 12 Oclock from Alexandria.

Saturday, 14th.

Thermometer at 26 in the Morn'g — 35 at Noon — and 36 at night.

Went out with the Hounds & run a fox from 11 O'clock untill near three O'clock when I came home and left the Dogs at fault after which they recovered the Fox & it is supposed killed it.

Before the Chase I visited My Ferry & Dogue run Plantations.

Sunday, 15th.

Thermometer at 34 in the morning — 42 at noon — and 40 at Night.

Little or no wind all day, clear and very pleasant

Nelly & Washington Custis returned home to-day.

Doctr [David] Stuart came here to Dinner & returned in the afternoon.

Monday, 16th.

Thermometer at 35 in the Morn'g — at noon — and 38 at night. Lowering Morning with threatnings, & spittings of snow till about noon when the wind (for before it was calm) came out at N°West tho' not hard, dispelled the clouds. Run round My Plantation at the Ferry — and on my return found a Mr. Armstrong here on business of Mr Balch, respect'g my Nephews who after dining returned. —

Began from an apprehn that there would not be much frost to put Ice into my Ice Hs tho' there was but little of it. Sent My Stone Mason, Cornelius M°Dermott Roe, to the Proprietors of the Quarries of free stone along down the River to see if I could be supplied with enough of a proper kind to repair my stone steps & for other purposes.

Tuesday, 17th.

Thermometer at 27 in the Morning — 30 at noon — and 28 at N.

Wind at N°West all day, and cold — thawed but little, altho' it was clear. —

Employed as yesterday, in collecting Ice, but under many disadvantages, being obliged to go over to the Maryland shore and pick up the floating Ice in the river — which I was disposed to do, rather than run the risk of not laying up a store.

Cornelius M°Dermott Roe returned, having had the offer of stone [from] M^r^ Brent.

Wednesday, 18th.

Thermometer at 20 in the morning — 22 at Noon — and 26 at night —

Day very cold — no thawing — and the afternoon threatening of snow, a fine mist of it falling — Wind Northerly — Col° [John] Fitzgerald called here on his way from Dumfries & dined and then proceeded — fixed with him and requested that he would give the Board of Directors of the Potomack Company notice of the meeting intended to be held at the Great Falls on Monday the 30th Inst^t^ — Getting Ice this day also.

Thursday, 19th.

Thermometer at 19 in the morning — 20 at noon — and 22 at night

Morning Cloudy — Wind Northerly — and weather cold — Snow about an Inch deep fell in the night.— after ten o'clock it began again & continued snowing fine till bed time with the wind northerly.

Discontinued getting Ice, the river not being in a State to get it from the other shore and the prospect such as to get it anywhere in the course of a day or two —

The negro Shoemaker belonging to M^r^ Lund Washington came to work here in the forenoon of this day.[1]

Friday, 20th.

Thermometer at 18 in the mor^g^ — 24 at noon — and 26 at night.

A mixture of snow and hail fell all the fore part of the day —

[1] Probably Baptiste Hamilton.

and hail & rain the latter part which consolodated the Snow which in the morning might be about 6 or 8 Inches deep; — Wind Northwardly all day; — but not much of it in any part of it.

Saturday, 21st.

Thermometer at 26 in the morning — at noon — and 34 at night

Cloudy and hazy till betwn eleven & 12 o'clock when the suns feeble efforts to shine were overcome — about One o'clock a heavy mist came on — about two it grew very dark — thundered & rained — after whch it continued misling till bed time.

Rid to my Plantations at Muddy hole and Dogue run — from thence to the Mill; — upon my return found Mr Jno Dandridge here.

Sunday, 22d.

Thermometer at 40 in the morning — 42 at noon — and 48 at night.

Raining more or less all day and a close thick fog the whole day, — proceeding from the dissolution of the Snow, which by night was almost gone — Wind tho' not much of it Southerly and warm — the damps in the house being also very great the damps upon the walls being to be swept of. —

Monday, 23d.

Thermometer at 38 in the morning — 46 at noon — and 40 at Night

Clear all day with the wind at NoWest but neither hard nor cold.

Snow entirely gone except in places hid from the influence of the Sun & the Southwardly wind which blew yesterday.

Tuesday, 24th.

Thermometer at 31 in the morning 36 at noon — and 34 at Night.

Morning clear & pleasant: lowering afterwards; with appearances of snow: — little or no wind all day. —

Began my work of Ice-getting again today. — but it was not in a proper state being rather a mixture of Snow & Ice and not hard enough.

Wednesday, 25th.

Thermometer at 34 in the morning — at noon — and 40 at Night

Morning calm and very foggy till after 8 o'clock when the fog dispersed and was very pleasant — About one o'clock the Wind Sprung up at N°West but blew neither hard nor cold.

M^r Jn° Dandridge set off on his return home after breakfast.

I rid to Morris's, Muddy hole and Neck Plantations, between Breakfast and dinner.

The State of the Ice was such that I was obliged to desist from getting more until the next freezing spell. —

And set about the Banks round the Lawn, in front of the gate between the two Mounds of Earth.

Thursday, 26th.

Thermometer at 33 in the morn^g — at noon — and 39 at Night

Clear and pleasant all day and more especially in the afternoon — Not much wind — but that from the N°West.

Renewed my Ice operation today, employing as many hands as I conveniently could in gett^g it from the Maryland shore — carting and pounding it.

Mr. Shaw went up to the dancing Assembly at Alexandria after Dinner.

Friday, 27th.

Thermometer at 30 in the morning — at noon — and — at night

Clear and pleasant all day; wind at N°West in the forenoon and Eastwardly afterwards, but not much of it.

M^rs Washington set out after breakfast for Abingdon — to see M^rs [David] Stuart who is ill.

I rid to my Mill — and to the Plantation at Dogue run — also to the places when the Muddy hole & ferry people were at work.

Mr. Shaw returned home an hour or two within Night.

Getting Ice again today.

Saturday, 28th.

Thermometer at 34 in the morning — at noon — and 44 at night.

Morning calm & clear but the [ground] hard frozen about 10 o'clock the wind sprung up at South, but did not blow hard. thawed the ground a good deal.

Went out after breakfast with my hounds — found a Fox in the Branch within Mr. Thomson Mason's Field and run him sometimes hard and sometimes at cold hunting from 11 o'clock till near two when I came home and left the huntsmen with them who followed in the same manner two hours or more longer and then took the Dogs off without killing.

In the course of the chase & and at the upper end of the cover in which the above Fox was found I see two run out at once neither of which appeared to be the chased Fox. — this shews how plenty they are on that side the Creek.

When I came home found Colo Gibson,[1] a Mr. Pollack (of Richmond) and Colo Allison here, who dined and stayed all night.

Getting Ice again today.

Sunday, 29th.

Thermometer at 40 in the morning — 54 at noon — and 50 at night.

The morning remarkably fine & pleasant with little or no wind — the afternoon a little lowering and at night it began a mizzling rain which encreased and continued raining all night.

After breakfast the Gentlemen who came yesterday returned

In the Afternoon Colo [William] Grayson & his nephew Mr. Benja Orr came in and stayed all night.

Monday, 30th.

Thermometer at 54 in the morning — 56 at noon — and 50 at night.

The Morning foggy, with showers at intervals till near 11 o'clock after which it cleared with a brisk Southwardly wind. —

Mrs Washington with Betey & Patey Custis came home, from Abingdon before dinner; and after it Colo Grayson & Mr. O'rr left this

Planted the Hemlock Pine wch was brought to me by Cornelius McDermot Roe from Colo Blackburns, in my Shrubberies — and

On sixteen square rod of ground in my lower pasture I put 140 Bushels of what we call Marle — viz: — on 4 of these N.Wt corner were placed 50 bushels — on 4 others SoWt corner 20 bushels On 4

[1] Perhaps John Gibson of Colchester.

others S° E^{t} corner 40 bushels and on the remaining 4: 20 bushels — This Marl was spread on the sod in these proportions — to try — first whether what we have denominated to be Marl possesses any virtue as a manure — and secondly — if it does — the quantity proper for an acre.

Transplanted (after dividing it into two) the French honey suckle in my North garden to the Lawn — one half in front of each garden gate.

Tuesday, 31st.

Thermometer at 42 in the morning — 40 at noon — and 34 at night.

The morning was a little cloudy but the weather soon cleared with a brisk N°Wester which occasioned a great change in the air.

Planted a few pine trees in my Wildernesses.

FEBRUARY.

Wednesday, 1st.

Thermometer at — in the mor^{g} — at noon — and — at night.

Ground very hard froze — Wind Eastwardly in the morning and S° E^{t} the remaining part of the day; but clear & tolerably pleasant notwithstanding.

Not being able to leave home yesterday (as I intended) for the appointed meeting of the Directors of the Potomack Navigation at the Great Falls this day, I set out this morning at the first dawning of day, for this purpose — and after as disagreeable a ride as I ever had for the distance arrived at the Falls at half after 11 o'clock, where I found Col° [George] Gilpin (who had been there since Sunday night) levelling &c° — and Col° Fitzgerald who got there just before me

Spent the remainder of this day in viewing the different grounds along which it was supposed the Canal might be carried and after dining at the Huts went in the evening accompanied by Col° Fitzgerald, & M^{r} Potts[1] to a M^{r} Wheeler's in the neighbourhood (about 1½ miles off) to lodge.

[1] In a Ledger I find mention of Herbert & Potts.

Thursday, 2d.

Thermometer at in the morning — at night — and — at night. A very remarkable hoar frost, with but little wind; day pleasant till the evening when it clouded up and abt 8 o'clock began to snow.

Spent this day in examining the ground more attentively and levelling the different ways we had discovered yesterday but on acct of the swolen state of the river & rapidity of the current we could not determine absolutely upon the best cut and therefore directed Mr Stuart the Assistant Manager to have all of them opened, accurately measured, levelled & their bottoms sounded by the —— day of March when the Directers are to be requested pointedly to meet for the final choice.

Dined again at the Hutts; some little time after which Govr Lee (who had been detained by high waters) and Mr. Rumsey came in — the first concurred in sentiment with us on these measures.

After 7 o'clock at night Colo Fitzgerald, Mr Potts, & myself left the Hutts & came to Mr William Scott's about 6 miles on this side of the Falls where we lodged.

Friday, 3d.

Thermometer at — in the morng — at noon — and — at night

The snow that fell last night did not cover the ground an Inch — The Wind was at So West, and the day over head was pleasant — snow soon disappeared.

After an early breakfast we left Mr Scotts; and about noon I reached home; where I found an Eastern shore man delivering the oats which Doctr Stuart had engaged on my behalf of a Mr George Savage of Northampton — viz 800 Bushels.

Soon after I arrived Miss Sally Ramsay — Miss Kitty Washington, Doctr Craik Junr & Mr Porter came in and Dined and stayed all night — After Dinner Mr [James] Rumsey arrived and stayed the evening also.

Saturday, 4th.

Thermometer at 46 in the morg — at Noon — and 40 at night.

Clear morning with very little wind — after which it sprung up but not fresh, from the Eastward and lowered.

Mr Porter and Doctr Craik went away before Breakfast — and Mr. Rumsey after dinner.

Having assembled the men from my Plantations, I removed the Garden Houses which were in the Middle of the front walls to the extreme points of them; which were done with more ease, & less damage than I expected, considering the height one of them was to be raised from the ground. —

Sunday, 5th.

Thermometer at 34 in the morning — 36 at noon — and 37 at Night.

Wind Northerly — about 9 o'clk last night it began to snow which turned soon to rain which continued through the night, and more or less all day intermixed now & then with spittings of snow. Abt noon the wind shifted to the Nr West and blew pretty fresh but the weather in other respects did not change.

Monday, 6th.

Thermometer at 36 in the morning — 40 at Noon — and 38 at night.

Flying clouds in the morning with a brisk Nr West wind all day and cold, though clear after ten o'clock. —

The largest of my Buck fauns which had been missing since friday last came home after dinner with its left hind knee broke & much shivered — supposed to be by a shot.

Planting pines in the Wilderness on the left of the lawn and spading the ground there to day.

Tuesday, 7th.

Thermometer at 34 in the morning — at noon and 54 at night.

Morning clear & very pleasant as it continued to be all day — Wind Southerly but not fresh. —

Mrs Washington, Kitty Washington, Miss Ramsay Mr Shaw and myself went to Colo McCartys to the funeral of Mrs Piers (one of his daughters) I took my ferry & dogue run plantations in the way — we returned home to dinner — after which Doctor Griffith came in — and my overseer from the Plantation on Rappahannock.

Wednesday, 8th.

Thermometer at 42 in the morg — 52 at noon and 44 at night.

Day rather variable, but upon the whole pleasant; In the morning there were flying clouds with the wind pretty fresh from the Nº West — after which it was clear and still, till the evening, when the wind came out at Sº East.

After Breakfast Mr Griffith went away, and before dinner Mr Wm Craik came in and stayed all night.

Finished planting all the young pine trees in the Wilderness on the left. —

Thursday, 9th.

Thermometer at 43 in the morng — 54 at noon — and 50 at night.

Clear morning with a remarkable white frost. — Wind Southerly all day.

Went early in the morning to my river Plantation — took the Dogs with me, and on my return hunted, but never got a fox afoot, tho I dragged one to Mr. Robt Alexander's Pocoson, at whose house I called.

In my way home I took Muddy hole plantation — found Mr Willm Craik gone — and Mr Fendall and Mr Hipkins here, who went away at night by which Doctr Craik Senr came in.

Friday, 10th.

Thermometer at 52 in the morning — 62 at noon — and 66 at Night.

Wind Southerly & pretty fresh all day till evening when it shifted to the Nº West and turned cold — a large circle round the moon — this day was remarkably fine & promotive of vegitation. —

The buds of the lylack were much swelled & seemed ready to unfold.

Doctr Craik went away after Breakfast.

I began to hand weed the drilled wheat from the Cape behind the Stables. — the part which was cut so close by mistake, appeared to be quite dead to, if not at the roots —— The top of the blades of the other, in some places, had turned red, as if singed with the frost; and the bottom blades were, in many places grown yellow.

— the last sowed wheat had, within these few days, vegitated a good deal, and was stooling very prettily.

Making up the banks round ye serpentine walks to the front gate.

Saturday, 11th.

Thermometer at 34 in the morning — 34 at noon — and 30 at night.

Wind at N° East all day — very raw, and cold; a red angry sky at sunrising, — lowering about noon and snowing afterwards, by intervals, towards night.

A M^r Wooldridge (an English gentleman) and a M^r Waddell of N° Carolina — together with Mr. Murray M^r Wilson, & M^r Maize came here to dinner & stayed all night.

Transplanted the following Trees, to the following places in the North Garden, — viz — the first on the left looking eastward from the garden house, along the walk in front of it, is a peach tree transplanted y^e 14 of last march from the Gardeners nursery, to the South side of the walk by the Engl^h Walnuts. — The 2^d, & 4^th on the same side are burgamy Pears, grafted the first of April last y^r by the Green House. — the 3^d on the same side is a black May heart Cherry grafted at the same time, in the same place. — The 5^th on the same side is a Duke cherry D°D° — The 3^d tree from the same house on the *right* side (looking the same way) is also a Duke Cherry, grafted as above. — By the stumps of the Carnation Cherry and Apricot which were removed into the same garden on the 26^th of last October (not expecting either of them to live) I planted a white heart Cherry, and one of the small cherries that used to grow in the walk, in front of the House; — the white heart was placed by the stump of the Carnation Cherry.

Brought a Goose & Gander of the Chineese breed of Geese, from the reverend M^r Griffiths — and also two of the large White (or Portugal) Peach trees; and 2 Scions from a tree growing in his garden, to which he could give no name. — the last for my shrubberies.

Sunday, 12th.

Thermometer at 30 in the morn^g — 32 at noon — and 34 at night.

Snow about half an inch deep in the morning but soon disap-

peared afterwards. — Cloudy for the most part and but a feeble Sun at any time of the day. Not much Wind and that about S°E.t — Messrs Wilson, Murray, and Mease went away before breakfast — Mr. Wooldridge and Mr Waddell after it — and Miss Ramsay & Kitty Washington some time after them in my Chariot. —

Monday, 13th.

Thermometer at 34 in the morning — 34 at noon. — and 32 at night.

Cloudy morning but tolerably clear afterwards till noon when it lowered and sprinkled fine snow by intervals till night by which the ground was not covered more than half an inch. Wind, Southerly but raw and cold notwithstanding.

Planted the two peach trees which were brought on Saturday from Doctr Griffiths in my fruit garden behind the stable (the two uppermost ones at the N° E.t corner of it.) — Also planted others from the nursery in the Garden.

Began to raise the mound of earth on the right of the gate (coming in).

Rid to my Plantations at Muddy hole — Dogue run — and Ferry — and also to the Mill. — found Doctr Craik here on my return, who dined with us and proceeded to Mr Littles at Cameron to whose wife he was sent for. —

Tuesday, 14th.

Thermometer at 32 in the morning — 36 at Night — and 38 at Night.

In the course of last night there fell 8 Inches Snow — and it continued snowing slightly till 10 or 11 o'clock when it cleared and became a fine afternoon and evening — Not much wind and that variable sometimes at S° E.t then at N° West — and then calm.

Employed all the women and weak hands (who on acct of the snow) could not work out; in picking the wild Onion from the Eastern shore oat for seed.

Doctr Craik came in whilst we were at Dinner and stayed all night.

Wednesday, 15th.

Thermometer at 34 in the morning — 36 at Noon. — and 36 at Night.

Morning lowering — towards noon it became clear and warm, after which it clouded up again — between 4 and 5 it began to rain wch turned to snow in a little time soon after which it ceased — Wind for the most part of the day was southerly.

Doctr Craik went away after Breakfast.

Began with some of the men abt the House to bundle faggots for filling up guillies; as they could not on acct of the weather remove earth.

Thursday, 16th.

Thermometer at 36 in the morning — 46 at noon — and 46 at night —

Morning cloudy and not pleasant wind being at Nº West, but not fresh. — Afterwards it became clear calm, and exceedingly agreeable.

The warm & pleasant afternoon almost carried off the snow

Put one of Doctr [William] Gordons Subscription Papers (yesterday) in the hands of Doctr Craik to offer to his acquaintance.[1] —

Friday, 17th.

Thermometer at 38 in the Morning — 52 at Noon — and 48 at Night.

A thick fog till 9 o'clock, A.M. when it dispelled, was clear, and pleasant till towards sunsetting when the Western horison seemed to cloud & lower. — Wind Southerly all day but the ground very wet. — Snow all dissolved where the sun had access.

Rid to my Mill, and the Plantations at Muddy hole, Dogue run & ferry. —

Sent for Doctr Brown, who visited my negro Overseer (Will) and Gabriel at Muddy hole who were both sick — the first since this day week & was visited by Doctr Brown on Tuesday last. —

[1] The allusion is to the Rev. William Gordon's History of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment of the Independence of the United States, published in 1788.

Saturday, 18th.

Thermometer at 45 in the morning 56 at Noon — and 50 at night.

The morning lowered, — cleared at noon — and about two it rained a little; with appearances of a good deal at first — however it soon ceased, though it continued cloudy till night, when the Wind which had blowed pretty fresh from the Southward all day shifted to the N° West.

Began the yards back of the Green House designed for the Jack Ass & Magnolia.

The Bitch Stately was lined by the Dog Vulcan — Jupiter had been put to her and Venus but never seemed to take the least notice of them but whether he ever lined either of them is uncertain — the contrary is supposed. —

Rid to the Plantation in the Neck — and returned home by Muddy hole and visited the sick men there whom I found better. —

Took a list today of all my negroes which are as follows: — at Mount Vernon and the plantations around it. viz: —

HOME HOUSE.

Will.	Val. de Chambre	1
Frank *Austin	Waiters in the House	2
Hercules Nathan	Cooks.	2
Giles *Joe Paris-boy	Drivers & stablers	3
*Doll *Jenny	almost past service	2
*Betty *Lame Alice *Charlotte	Sempstresses	3
*Sall *Caroline	House Maids	2
Sall Brass *Dolly	Washers	2
*Alice Myrtilla *Kitty Winny	Spinners old & almost blind	4

*Schomberg	past labour	1
Frank, Cook Jack.	Stock keeper old —— Jobber.	2
Gunner, Boatswain, Sam, Anthony, *Tom Davis, *Will, *Joe	Labourers —	7
Jack	Waggoner	1
*Simms	Carter.	1
Bristol	Gardener	1
Isaac, James, Sambo, *Tom Nokes	Carpenters	4
Natt., George	Smiths —	2
*Peter — lame — Knitter.		1
	grown	41

Children.

*Opey	Betty's House	12	y^r old —	
*Delphy	Ditto	6	d°	2
*Anna-	little Alice's-	13	do	
*Christopher	do -	11	do	
*Judy	do	7	d°	
*Vina	do	5	d°	4
*Sinah	Kitty's	14	do	
*Mima	Ditto	12	do	
*Ally	Ditto	10	do	
*Lucy	Ditto	8	do	
*Grace	Ditto	6	do	
*Letty	Ditto	4	do	
*Nancy	Ditto	2	do	7
*Richmond	Lame Alice	9	do	
*Evy	D°	2	do	
*Delia	D°	3	m^os	3
				57

	carried over		57
Lilly	Myrtilla's	11 y^{r} old	
Ben	Ditto	8 do	
Harry	D^{o}	3 d^{o}	
Boatswain	D^{o}	6 d^{o}	
Sally	D^{o}	3 ^{mos}	5
*Cyrus	Sall's	11 do	1
*Timothy	Charlottes	1 do	1
*Wilson	Carolines	1 do	1
*Moll, *Peter	M^{r} Custis's Estate–		2
		In all.	67

MILL.

Ben.	Miller		1
Jack, Tom, Davy	Cowpers—		3
		In all–	4

RIVER PLANT^{n}

*Davy	Overseer.		1
*Breechy, Nat, Ned, Essex, Bath, *Johny, Adam, *Will, Robin, *Ben.	Labour^{s} Men dead		10
*Molly	Overseers wife		1
Ruth, *Dolly, Peg, Daphne, Murria, *Agnus	Labour^{s} women	[6]	

Suck			
Sucky			
Judy M.			
Judy F.			
*Hannah			
*Cornelia	Labour[e] women	[11]	17
*Lidia			
*Esther			
Cloe			
*Fanny			
*Alice			
	grown		29.

Children

Will —	Mill Judy's	13 y[r]	old	1
*Joe	Hannahs	12	do	1
Ben	Pegs	10	do	
Penny	Ditto	8	do	2
Joe	Daphne's	8	do	
Moses	Ditto	6	do	
Lucy	Ditto	4	do	
Daphne	Ditto	1	do	4
*Ned	Lidia's	7	do	
*Peter	Ditto	5	do	
*Phoebe	Ditt[o]	3	do	3
Cynthia	Suckeys	6	do	
Daniel	ditto	4	do	2
				42
*James	Ferry Doll's	8 y[rs]	old	1
*Bett	Neck Doll's	7	do	
*Natt	Ditto	4	do	
*Dolly	Ditto	3	do	
*Jack	Ditto	1	do	4
Rose	Suck Bass	12	do	1
*Milly	House Sall's	7	do	1
*Billy	D[o] Charlottes	4	do	1
*Flukey	Agnus's	1	do	1
*Ambrose	Cornelia's		1 month	1
			In all	52.

DOGUE RUN PLANTATION.

*Morris	Overseer	1
Robin, Adam, Jack, Jack long, Dick, Ben, *Matt, *Morris	Labour^{s} men	8
*Brunswick	Ruptured	1
Hannah.	Over^{rs} wife	1
*Lucy, Moll, Jenny, Lilla, Charity, *Betty, *Peg, *Sall, *Grace, *Sue.	Labour^{s} Women old	10
	grown	21

Children.

Sarah –	Charity's	6 y^{rs} old	
Billy	Ditto	5 do	
Hannah	Ditto	3 do	
Elly	Ditto	6 M^{o}	4
*Jesse	Salls	6 y^{r} do	
*Kitty	Do –	4 do	
*Lawrence	Do	1 do	3
*Jenny	Lucy's	9 do	
*Daniel	D^{o}	3 do	
*Ned	D^{o}	6 M^{o}	3
Aggy	Jones (dead)	9 y^{r} old –	
Simon	D^{o}	4 do	
Bett –	D^{o}	3 do	3

Sophia	Sylla's	3 do	
Sabra	Ditto	6 Mo	2
*Andrew	Betty's	1 yr old	1
*Crager	Pegs –	6 Mo	1
		In all	38

FERRY PLANTATION

*Sam Kit	Labourg Men.		5
London			
*Cæsar			
*Cupid			
*Paul			
*Betty	Labouring Women –		10
*Doll			
*Lucy			
*Lucy			
Flora			
*Fanny			
*Rachel			
*Jenny			
Edy			
*Daphne		grown	15

Children.

*Godfrey	Betty's	12 yrs old.	
*Beck	Ditto	11 do	
*Hanson	Ditto	7 do	
*Lucretia	Ditto	6 do	
*John	Ditto	3 do	
*Bill langston	Ditto	6 mo	6
*Patt	Doll's	11 yrs old	
*Milly	Ditto	4 do	
*Daniel	Ditto	3 do	
*Silvia	Ditto	1 do	4
*Edmund	Lucy	6 do	
*Mike	Ditto	3 do	
*Phill	Ditto	8 mo	3
Joy	Flora	8 yr old	
Jacob	Ditto	5 do	2
	In all		30

MUDDY HOLE PLANTATION.

*Will	Overseer.	
*Will		
Charles	Labour^{s} Men	5
Gabriel		
*Jupiter		
Kate		
Nanny		
Sarah		
Alice		
Peg	labour^{s} Women	9
Suckey		
Dorcas		
Amy		
Nancy		
	grown.	14

Children.

Molly	Kates	14 y^{r} old	
Virgin	Ditto	11 do	
Will	Ditto	8 do	
Kate	Ditto	4 do	4
Moses	Darcus's	8 do	
Townshend	do	6 m^{o}	2
Letty	Peg's	7 y^{r} old –	
Forrister	Ditto	2 do	2
Uriah	Suckey's	10 do	1
Kate	Alice's	4 do	1
Isbel	Sarah's	3 do	1
	Muddy-hole–	In all	25

	bro^{t} over –	
Muddy hole –	In all	25
Home House		67
River Plantation		52
Dogue run Plant^{n}		38
Ferry Plantation		30
Mill.		4
	Total.	216

NB. Those marked with Asterisks are Dower Negros.

Sunday, 19th

Thermometer at 35 in the morning — 38 at Noon — and 38 at night.

Morning clear and tolerably pleasant — though the horison was red & looked angry at the place of the suns rising — after noon it lowered a good deal, and at night there fell a mixture of snow and rain, which turned to a kind of misling rain that continued through the night. — but little wind in the fore part of the day — at S° E: and East afterwards.

Monday, 20th.

Thermometer at 35 in the morning — 38 at noon — and 38 at night.

Missling all day intermixed at times with rain with but little wind.

Began, though the ground was too wet to set the Posts of my Paddock fence.

M: Lawrence Washington of Chotank, M: W^m^ Thompson, M: Will^m^ Stuart and M: Lund Washington came here to dinner — all of whom except the first went away after it.

Tuesday, 21st.

Thermometer at 40 in the morning 40 at Noon and 38 at N

Clear, with the wind pretty fresh at N° West in the forenoon calm afterwards.

A Mr. M^c^Pherson of Alexandria came & returned before dinner, his business was to communicate the desires of a Neighbourhood in Berkeley County, to build a School & Meeting House on some Land of mine there, leased to one — my answer was, that if the tenant's consent could be obtained, and the spot chosen was upon the exterior of my Land, so as that no damage would result from Roads &c° to it, mine should not be wanting.

Col° Carrington, Doct: Brown and a Mr. Scott of Maryland (a liver with Col° Fitzhugh) also M: Law^e^ Washington (of this County) came here to dinner; all of whom except Col° Carrington went away after it.— In the evening Mr. Crawford and his wife — child and nurse came in and stayed all night.

Wednesday, 22d.

Thermometer 36 in the morning — 40 at noon — and 40 at night.

A gray morning with a red and angry looking horison at the place of the suns rising — about 10 o'clock it began to lower very much & at noon to drip rain which continued with intervals all the remaining part of the day, but not so as to drive people from their work — Calm all day.

After breakfast Col? Carrington & M^r^ Crawford, his wife left this — the first for Alexandria to pursue his rout to Congress (of which he is a member) — the other on his return home.—

M^r^ Lawrence Washington went up to Alexandria after breakfast — dined & returned in y^e^ Evening.

Thursday, 23d.

Thermometer at 36 in the morning — 32 at Noon — and 32 at night —

Wind at East all day — by eight A. M. it began to snow and continued to do so more or less all day, covering the ground by Night 3 or 4 Inches when it became a kind of sleet.

Mr. Lund Washington came here to dinner, and returned afterwards — a M^r^ Rice Hooe came in the afternoon and stayed all night. —

Mr. Shaw went to Alexandria to the assembly — and to do some business in town for me. —

The weather early in the morning obliged me to quit planting Posts for my Paddock.—

Friday, 24th.

Thermometer, at 32 in the morning — 33 at noon and 29 at night.—

Cloudy about day break — but it soon cleared, and about 8 o'clock the wind began to blow very high from the N^o^ W^t^ and continued to do so all day — growing very cold & freezing hard especially towards night.

Mr. Law^e^ Washington and Mr. Hooe left this after breakfast, and crossed in my Boat (which could not get back till the wind moderated after sundown) to Maryland, as the nearest cut home.

After sunset Mr. Shaw returned from Alexandria.—

Not being able either to remove Earth, set Posts, or plant Trees sent the men into the new grounds to making faggots — and the women to picking the wild onions from the oats which I wanted to sow.

Saturday, 25th.

Thermometer at 24 in the morning — 31 at Noon — and 30 at night.

Clear and calm in the forenoon wind southerly afterwards and thawing the ground being hard frozen.

Renewed the fencing of my Paddock today.

Went into the Neck, and to Muddy hole Plantations, to measure the fields which I had plowed for oats and for experiments — also to Dogue run to divide some fields and to mark the rows for planting corn. In the afternoon Mr. Willm Booth came in and stayed all night.

Sunday, 26th.

Thermometer at 29 in the morning 42 at Noon — and 40 at Night

Clear and calm all the forenoon Wind Southerly afterwards, & towards sunset lowered a good deal; but cleared again after dark.

Monday, 27th.

Thermometer at 38 in the morning — 46 at Noon — and 43 at night.

Forenoon warm, and variable with but little wind about noon it sprung up fresh from Nº West and blew hard all the afternoon.

Mr. Booth went away after breakfast — and Doctr Brown came after dinner (and returned) to visit Boatswain a sick negro man.

Having received yesterday evening, a number of fruit trees from my nephew, Mr. Willm Washington of Blenheim I planted them in my fruit garden in the following order of places.

viz: —

In the Nº Et Square of this garden the Tree at the Nº Et corner is a Carnation Cherry. and the next to it, below, on the East side, is also a Carnation. — The 3- Row, three two pound Pears, east side, next the Carnation — & one, 1 pound ditto. 5th Row. 2

Cooks pear East, & 2 green Burgamot. — 7th Row. — 3 Bell pears East & 1 Catharine Ditto.— 9th Row 2 yellow Burgamot East & 2 Bencriton Pears. —

N° WEST SQUARE.

3- Row — 1 popes pear — next the cross Walk & 3 of Col° Richard Henry Lee's fine Winter Pear. — 5 Row — four old H° Russitans.— 6 Row—four of the Heath Peach.—7 Row—four of Booths Ginitan. 8 Row three amber Plumbs next the cross walk and 2 Green gage do — west of them. 9th — Row —, two Booths Genitans next the cross walk. & 2 New town pippin West of them.

SO WEST SQUARE.

1st Row next the cross Walk — Peaches from the Garden. — 2d. row, 4 New town pippin. — 3d Row — Peaches from the Garden — 4th Row 4 Gloucester White Apple. 5 Row Peaches from the Garden — 6 Row 2 Glostr Wh° Ap. on the west side & next these adjoining the cross Walk, are 2 Apple trees taken from the middle walk in the N° Garden — said to be Vandiviers. — 7. Row, Peach trees from the Garden — 8 Row. 1 Apple tree next the cross walk, taken from the border in the N° Garden, by the English Walnut trees. & the other 3 trees are from Stratford, given to me by Col° Henry Lee. 1 of which he calls the Medlar Russitan. another the Chantilly pear — and the 3d the Carnation cherry but this being a mistake, the others are not to be depended upon.

The 3d and 7th Trees in the outer or East row, next the fencing are May duke Cherry from Blenheim.

SO. EAST SQUARE —

2d. Row. next the cross walk, are two Golden, and two New Town Pippins from Major Jenifers — 4th Row four of the Maryland red strick from the same place. 6th Row — next the cross walk, two more of the same — that is Maryland red strick —

Tuesday, 28th.

Thermometer at 30 in the morns — at noon — and — at night.

A hard frost and very cold morning, wind being still, at N°. West — The forenoon clear — afternoon lowering — and about eight o'clock in the evening it began to snow. —

Set out, by appointment, to attend a meeting of the Board of Directors of the Potomack Company at the Great Falls — Dined and lodged at Abingdon, to which place Mrs Washington, and all the Children accompanied me. — Mr. Shaw also set out on a visit to Dumfries. —

MARCH.

Wednesday, 1st.

Thermometer at in the morning — at noon — and — at night.

The Snow which fell in the night was little if any over an inch deep this morning. — The forenoon of the day was variable and foggy — the afternoon clear, warm, and pleasant till the evening when it lowered and threatned a disagreeable change. —

After a very early breakfast at Abingdon — I set off for the meeting at the Great falls & passing near the little falls arrived at the former about 10 o'clock; where in a little time, assembled Govr [Thomas] Johnston — Colo Fitzgerald, and Colo Gilpin.

Little or no business done to day — & seperating in the evening for the purpose of procuring Quarters, I went to Mr. Fairfax's (about 3 miles off) where I lodged.

Thursday, 2d.

Thermometer at in the morning — at noon — and — at Night. —

A little Snow fell in the night — about sun rise there were some appearances of fair weather but about 8 o'clock it began to snow fast — by 10 it was intermixed with hail & rain, which, about noon, became wholly rain. — and towards sun down all snow and storming; indeed the day through it blew hard from the No East quarter.

Accompanied by Mr. Fairfax I repaired again to the Falls where we arrived about 8 o'clock & where we found Colo Gilpin, who remained there all night. — about two hours afterwards, Govr Johnson, Colo Fitzgerald and Mr Potts arrived but the day was so stormy that we could neither level, nor survey the different tracks talked of for the Canal — which, & to determine on the most eligable one were the principle objects of the meeting: unable to do any business without doors, we returned to the Huts. — resolved on the next advances — considered some other matters — dined

there as we did yesterday — and again seperated for lodgings — Col Fitzgerald & M^r Potts accompanied Mr. Fairfax & myself to Towlston. —

Friday, 3^d.

Thermometer at in the Morning — at Noon — and — at night.

The Snow which fell yesterday & last night covered the ground at least a foot deep, and continuing snowing a little all day & blowing hard from the N^o. West, we were obliged tho' we assembled at y^e huts again to relinquish all hopes of levelling & surveying the ground this trip; & therefore resolved on the rout for the Canal from the best view we could take & information get; — and after doing some other business, as a board — particularly resolving to advertize a Contract for the supply of our Labourers with provisions, we broke up the meeting; and I again returned (first dining at the Hutts) with Col^o Fitzgerald to Towlston, in a very severe evening.

Saturday, 4^th.

Thermometer at in the morn^g — at noon — 30 and at night.

The wind blew hard all last Night at N^o. West, and it was as cold this morning as at any time this winter; but not having the thermometer to apply to I could only judge from appearances & my own feelings.

After breakfast Col^o Fitzgerald and myself set off on our return home, & parted at 4 mile Run. — about half after four I got to Mount Vernon, where M^rs Washington, Nelly and little Washington had just arrived — as also Mr. Shaw from Dumfries.

Sunday, 5^th.

Thermometer at 24 in the morning — 32 at noon — and 34 at night.

Wind pretty fresh from the N^o West all day, and much appearance of Snow, but none fell.

Mr. Rich^d Bland Lee came here to dinner and stayed all night.

Monday, 6^th.

Thermometer at 36 in the morn^g — 37 at noon — and 37 at night. Cloudy & heavy all day, with little wind & that soft.

Mr Lee went away about 10 o'clk and Mr Thornton Washington came in after we had dined and stayed all night. —

Mr. Lund Washington's Negro Shoemaker left working here on Saturday last. —

Returned to the erection of my Deer paddock, which the bad weather had impeded — brought Carts from the plantations to assist in drawing in the materials for the Well.

Tuesday, 7th.

Thermometer at 34 in the morning 46 at noon — and 42 at night.

Morning clear & calm — grd a little frozen. — Wind pretty fresh afterwards from the Northeast — notwithstanding which it lowered a good deal towards evening.

I rid to Muddy hole and Dogue run Plantations — and by the grd where the ferry hands were at work.

Wednesday, 8th.

Thermometer at 38 in the Morning — 43 at noon — and — at night.

Morning clear and calm; but very strong appearances of snow, afterwards not enough fell here to cover the ground —The Wind all the latter part of the day blowing pretty fresh from the Nº West.

A Mr —— Nisbett brother to I. M. Nisbett accompanied by Colº Fitzgerald, Mr. Herbert, and Mr. Potts came here to dinner and stayed all night.

Thursday, 9th.

Thermometer at 36 in the morning — 41 at noon — and 38 at Night. —

Clear all day, & for the season cold, the wind being fresh from the Nº West. —

After breakfast the Gentlemen who came yesterday returned to Alexandria and after candles were lighted Doct Jenifer came in and stayed all night.

Friday, 10th.

Thermometer at 32 in the morning — 44 at Noon — and 44 at Night. —

Ground very hard froze in the morning, which was cold — wind

being fresh all day at N° West — in the evening it became calm — the day was clear. —

Lund Washington came here to Breakfast — after which he and Doct^r Jenifer both went away. —

Between breakfast and Dinner a Mr. Rollins, who has undertaken to finish my new room came here settled a plan with my joiners & returned before dinner. —

Saturday, 11th.

Thermometer at 34 in the morning — 44 at Noon — and 40 at night.

Weather clear and cool, Wind at N° West, and ground hard froze in the morning — rode to all my Plant^ns and to the Mill — on my return found a Mr. James Hains, the Manager of the James river Canal here — sent by the Directors to me, and to proceed with Letters from me to the Potomack and Susquehanna Works, which being given, he proceeded after dinner to the former.

Brought a Load of Salt in my Boat from Alexandria, for Fishing.

Sunday, 12th.

Thermometer at 36 in the morn^g — 53 at noon — and 50 at night.

Very clear and pleasant all day, till towards sunset, when the western horison became thick — the Wind in the forenoon was at N° West but not hard — afterwards it was at East and variable — a large circle round the Moon at 8 and 9 o'clock in the evening.

About dusk, Mr William Harrison (a delegate to Congress from the State of Maryland) and his son came in on their way to New York.

Monday, 13th.

Thermometer at 38 in the morning 49 at noon — and 48 at night.

Clear and pleasant with but little wind, and that variable — in the forenoon it was Northerly and in the afternoon easterly and tow^ds sunset lowering — the sun setting in a bank.

Mr. Harrison and son went away after breakfast — and M^r Lund Washington came immediately afterwards and stayed till the afternoon.

The ground being in order for it, I set the people to raising and forming the mounds of Earth by the gate in order to plant weeping willow thereon.

Sent my Boat to Alexandria for salt with the overseer in it, who by my order, engaged my Fishing landing at Johnsons ferry to Mr. Lomax in Alexandria — who is to put doors and windows to the house and pay Twenty five pounds for the use of it during the fishing Season. —

Tuesday, 14th.

Thermometer at 38 in the morning — 50 at Noon — and 42 at Night.

A red horison, in the East at Sun rising; but tolerably clear till towards noon, with a large circle round the sun. — After noon it turned cloudy, and towards night there were strong appearances of rain — Wind at East all day.

Rid to my Plantations at Dogue run, Muddy Hole, and in the Neck. — at the former had begun to sow Oats in ground that was intended for and had been added to my upper Meadow but after sowing the narrow slips at the lower end I ordered the plowmen to stop and forbid any more harrowing as the ground was too wet & heavy to be worked to any advantage. —

That ground in the Neck w^ch^ I was cross plowing, for Oats also, was too wet and heavy; but the lateness of the season induced me to continue plowing as I wanted to bring it into fine tilth on Acc^t^ of clover seed which I meant to sow with the Oats. —

Planted the intervals between the forest trees in my serpentine roads, or walks to the House from the front gate, with Weeping Willow. — Note, part of these (nearly all on the right side going to the gate) were planted on Wednesday the first day of this month, whilst I was on the business of the Potom^k^ Company at the Great Falls.

Sent my Overseer, and Boat to Alexandria for another load of salt.

Wednesday, 15th.

Thermometer — at 38 in the morning — 41 at Noon — and 46 at Night.

Misting *all* day, and now and then raining pretty smartly wind constantly at East.

The wet obliged me to discontinue my working on the Mounds and set the people to picking the wild onions out of the Oats, which I am ab^{t} to sow. —

In the afternoon, the vessel w^{ch} I sent to York river for Corn from the Plantations of the deceased M^{r} Custis arrived with 1000 bushels.

Thursday, 16th.

Thermometer at 48 in the morning — 57 at noon — and 50 at night.

Misting morning — about 9 o'clock it cleared and was warm and pleasant overhead but very wet under foot, occasioned by the quantity of rain that fell last night. — but little wind and that from the westward. — About 4 o'clock a pretty heavy shower of rain fell.

Finished the mound on the right and planted the largest Weeping Willow in my nursery in the centre of it — ground too wet to do any thing to the other Mound on the left. —

Landed 450 Bushels of Corn today — more might have been got up but for the badness of the road occasioned by the late rains made it difficult passing with Carts.

Friday, 17th.

Thermometer at 49 in the morning — 52 at Noon — and 48 at night.

Cloudy all day, and sometimes dripping rain — Wind at N^{o} West but not fresh. nor cold. —

Finished landing Corn — viz 1000 Bushels which had swelled 13 bushels over. —

Had every species of stock turned off my Muddy hole Wheat field except the English Colts and — with young.

Saturday, 18th.

Thermometer at 44 in the morning — 56 at noon — and 52 at Night. —

Morning a little cloudy, and the Wind at N^{o} West with appearances of blowing hard; but towards noon it cleared, the wind moderated, and in the afternoon it became calm and very pleasant.

Rid to my Ferry, Dogue run, Muddy hole, and Neck plantations — on my return before dinner found a Mr. Charton (a french Gentleman) here introduced by a letter from Govern^{r} Henry.

Got the Mound on the left so far compleated as to plant the next largest of my weeping Willows thereon the buds of which were quite expanded, and the leaves appearing in their unfolded state — quære, — how much too far, in this state of the sap, is the season advanced? — also planted the cuttings from, or trimmings of those trees in a nursery, they being in the same forward state.

Spaded up some of the ground in my botanical garden for the purpose of planting the scaly bark hiccory nut of Gloucester in.

Also a piece of ground N^{o} West of the green House, adjoining thereto, the garden Wall, & Post & rail fencing lately erected as yards for my stud horses in order to plant the seed of the Honey Locust &c &c —

About noon this day finished crossing the ground in the Neck, — designed for oats and clover — and nothing but the lateness of the season could (if that will) justify my doing it whilst the ground is so wet — or beginning to inlist corn ground which I did at the same place whilst the ground was in this condition.

Sunday, 19th.

Thermometer at 46 in the morning — 50 at noon — & 46 at night.

Wind moderate in the forenoon, and the morning exceedingly pleasant; but blowing fresh from the Eastward — after twelve o'clock. — it lowered in the afternoon and threatened an unfavourable change.

A Gentleman calling himself the Count de Cheiza D'Artignan, Officer of the French Guards, came here to dinner; but bringing no letters of introduction, nor any authentic testimonials of his being either; I was at a loss how to receive, or treat him; he stayed dinner and the evening.

Mr. Charton went away after dinner.

Monday, 20th.

Thermometer at 42 in the morning — 48 at noon — and 46 at night.

Wind fresh from the N^{o} East all day — misling and raining more or less, till even^{g} at times it fell pretty heavily.

Planted in that square of my Botanical garden, adjoining to the servants & spinning House in two and an half rows 95 of the Gloucester hiccory nut. — They are on that side of the square next the House — between the Walk, and a locust tree standing within the square.

Trimmed all the Weeping willow trees which had been planted in the serpentine walks both sides & which had begun to display their leaves.

Tuesday, 21st.

Thermometer at in the morning — 60 at noon — and 58 at night.

Wind brisk from the N° West all day (drying the ground finely) in the morning it was a little cloudy but clear afterwards.

The Count de Cheiza D'Artignan (so calling himself) was sent, with my horses, today at his own request to Alexand[a]

Mr. Shaw went to town to day on my business.

In the S° West square of my fruit garden beginning with the upper row, next the cross walk the following trees were planted — viz: — 1st row 4 Damisons — 3d row 4 common plumbs. — 5th row — 4 damisons — 7th row Common Plumbs. 9th row 4 damisons; according to my gardiners account — all from Mr. Manley's place — And in the S° East square at the East side of the 3d row (counting from the cross walk) are 2 Pears (common) from the same place.

A Capt[n] Hite came here between breakfast and dinner to see if I would join him in an Iron work on the S° Branch w[ch] proposition I rejected. — and Capt[n] W. Brooke came here to dinner and returned afterw[ds].

M[r] Shaw returned from Alexandria ab[t] 9 o'clock at Night. —

Wednesday, 22d.

Thermometer at 50 in the morning — 58 at noon — and 58 at night.

Wind rather variable, but chiefly from the Westward — About noon it lowered — and a large circle appeared round the sun — but the sun set clear, and the evening was red.

Had the intervals between my Cape wheat hoed — cut the top of every other row of the first sowed of it about 8 Inches from the ground it being not less than 12 or 14 Inches high and many of the

blades, in places, appearing to be dying — left the alternate rows untouched, to see what effect this cutting will have, — the second sowing of this wheat appears very likely & thriving — having a few grains of it left I had it planted in the missing places. —

Hoed the ground behind the Garden again and planted therein, in three rows 177 of the wild or Cherokee plumb; (sent me by Mr. Geo. A. Washington) 8 inches apart in the rows with 18 inch intervals.

Also hoed up under the Pines, in the enclosure near H. hole ab^{t} 4 rods of ground w^{ch} is much shaded, and poor, to try whether it will bring the orchard grass.

Rid to all my Plantations; directed the Overseer at Dogue run to harrow the ground w^{ch} had been some time plowed for oats, in order to get it ready for sowing, though it was much wetter than were to be wished. — did the same in the Neck, or river plantation, where the ground intended for the same purpose was in like condition.

Thursday, 23^{d}.

Thermometer at 51 in the morning, — at Noon — and 50 at Night.

Wind very fresh the whole day at N^{o} West and weather clear.

Along side the Cherokee plumb (planted yesterday) I planted in a row and piece, the Spanish chesnuts saved last fall —

And next these 43 rows, one foot apart and about an inch assunder in the row between 17 and 18.000 seed of the honey locust.

Next these in three rows, planted 160 of the Portugal peach stone.

And adjoining these are 3 other rows of the common chesnut.

In the evening Doct^{r} Craik came in

Muddy hole hands finished grubbing their side of the new ground, in front of the House, & went about their fencing at home.

Friday, 24th.

Thermometer at 46 in the morning 56 at noon — and 55 at night

Wind at N^{o} West in the morning, and rather cool — afterwards it was at South west — and blew pretty fresh — looking hazy. —

Rid to my Plantations at Dogue run, Muddy hole and in the Neck, — began again to sow Oats at the first and last of these though the ground was yet too wet. —

Sowed the ground which was prepared on Wednesday last under the Pine trees with about 1 quart of Orchard grass seeds, and a gill of red clover seeds mixed.

Doct.r Craik went up to Alexandria after breakfast.

Saturday, 25th.

Thermometer at 53 in the Morning — 68 at noon — and 64 at night.

Clear, warm, and pleasant all day. — wind southerly, and pretty fresh — smoaky, the sun consequently looking red.

Rid to all the Plantations, and to the Mill.

Finding the ground both at Dogue run and River plantation (which had been twice plowed at each) for Oats, too much consolidated & baked (the last plowings being when it was too wet) for the harrow to make much impression in it, and the lateness of the season not allowing time to give it another plowing before sowing, I directed the seed to be sown on it as it now is, and to be plowed in, smoothing it afterwards with the harrow — but the ground in *many* places breaking up in large clods, & flakes, more so indeed than at the first plowing, it is to be feared the seed will be irregularly sown — burried too deep — and the Crop (after all the pains I intended to take with it) be indifferent and in bad condition to receive the grass seeds which were intended to be sown therewith.

In removing the planks about the Venetian Window, at the North end of the house, the sill and ends of the Posts, and studs, were found decayed; and were accordingly, the first renewed, and the other repaired.

Doct.r Craik came here to dinner & returned to Maryland after it.

Sunday, 26th.

Thermometer at 57 in the morning 67 at noon — and 67 at night.

Clear and very smoaky all day, with the wind brisk from the South west — towards sundown it began to lower a little.—

The warm.th of yesterday and this day, forwarded vegetation much; the buds of some trees, particularly the weeping Willow & Maple, had displayed their leaves and blossoms & all others were swelled and many ready to put forth — The Apricot trees were beginning to blossom and the grass to shew its verdure.

Monday 27th.

Thermometer at 46 in the morning — at noon — and 56 at night.

Cloudy all the forenoon. Wind at N° W½. Rid to all my plantations finished plowing in the Oats at Dogue Run. — ground much too wet; but not to be avoided as nothing could be well worse than a longer delay of getting them sowed. —

Ordered the ground to be harrowed, to smooth and prepare it for the Timothy seed which I mean to sow with the oats when they are up and require rolling.

What from the wetness of the above ground, and the last plowing (after sowing) being deeper than I chose, it is to be feared the seed will come up badly.

The same apprehension I have concerning the oats in the Neck, which are plowed in in the same manner and the ground equally wet.

The harrow at this place follow the plows close. — at Dogue run the whole was first plowed in before the harrow moved.

Tuesday, 28th.

Thermometer at 42 in the morning — 50 at Noon — and 52 at Night.

Clear all day with the Wind at S° It should have been noted, that in the night of the 26th there fell rain — tho not a great deal — enough however to wet the top of the ground.

Finished sowing my Oats in the Neck and plowing them in, but not the harrowing of the ground after y^e^ Plows.

Finished the Land sides of my Paddock fencing, and as a temporary expedient set about water fences at each end to serve till the fishing season is over.

Also finished the mound on the left side (going out) of the front gate.

Sowed in rows in my botanical garden, one foot asunder and about 3/4 of an inch a part in the rows, all the seed I had of the palmetto royal.

Replaced the following trees in my shrubberies which were dead or supposed to be so — viz: —

10 Swamp Magnolia	3 locusts
4 Red buds	1 swamp red berry
5 black haws	

Sent Mr. Shaw to Alexandria to settle some acc^{ts} and receive money — he returned in the evening.

Wednesday, 29th.

Thermometer at 48 in the morning — 60 at noon — and 62 at night.

Lowering in the forenoon, and sometimes dropping rain, — clear afterwards — Wind southerly all day — and at times fresh.

Finished crossing the ground at Muddy hole plantation intended for experiments.

Began to plow a piece of gr$^{d}_{.}$ in the Neck for Burnet Saint foin and rib grass, in front of the overseers house. —

Rid to all my Plantations and to the fish house at the ferry where my Carpenters were at work. — In the afternoon a Mr. Brindley, manager of the Susquehanna Canal. and Mr Hanes Manager of the James river Navigation came in and stayed all night. —

Thursday, 30th.

Thermometer at 58 in the morning — 63 at noon — and — at night.

Lowering more or less all day. with the wind at South —

Rid to the ferry, Dogue run, and Muddy hole plantations & to the Mill.

On my return home, found a Mr. Wallace, an Irish Gentleman — some time since recommended to me by Sir Edward Newenham here.

The Corn which I had lately received from York River having got very hot, I was obliged to send part of it to be spread in my Mill loft — part to be spread on the Barn floor at Muddy hole — part I spread above stairs in the Servants Hall — and part I spread on carpets in the yard. the last of which from the appearance of the Weather I was obliged soon to take in again.

Finished harrowing the ground in which Oats had been sowed at Dogue run, and in the neck; and set a number of Hoes at the former to breaking the clods w^{ch} the harrow could not effect. —The ground in the Neck in many places was left very lumpy also but on acc^{t} of other jobs there I could do no more to it at present.

Perceived the Oats which had been sown at Dogue run on the

14th inst: to be generally up — On Monday last they were beginning to peep out of the ground.

Planted in the holly clumps, in my shrubberies a number of small holly trees which some months ago Colo Lee of Stratford sent me in a box with earth — also in the same shrubberies some of the slips of the Tree box — I also planted several holly trees which had been sent to me the day before by a neighbour, Mr. Thos. Allison.

Mr. Brindley and Mr. Hains or Harris went away after breakfast.

Friday, 31st.

Thermometer at 56 in the morning — at noon — and — at night.

Raining a little before day with thunder & lightning after which it misted till towd Noon when there were appearances of its clearing; but in the afternoon it rained pretty smartly and continued threatening — Wind No & No West sometimes No E.

Walked to my Plantation in the Neck where, tho' the ground was nearly prepared for my grass seeds I could not sow them on acct of the weather.

Got my Paddock fence quite inclosed except along the margin of ye River.

In the afternoon George Washington and his wife arrived in Colo Bassett's Chariot

APRIL.

Saturday, 1st.

Thermometer at 34 in the morning 34 at noon — and 32 at night.

A very disagreeable mixture of Rain and fine hail fell all day, with a fresh and cold No easterly wind — towards night and in the night it snowed. — few days or nights this year have been more inclemt and disagreeable than this. —

Sunday, 2d.

Thermometer at 31 in the morning — 40 at Noon — and 41 at night.

A very hard frost this morning; Water & wet Ice frozen — and day cold — Wind hard at No West and weather clear — Snow which fell in the night had drifted so as not to tell the depth of it easily

all the blossoms & young foliage much injured, and the forward fruit (if no more) entirely destroyed.

Just after dinner Mr Fendall came in, and about Sundown a Doctr Middleton — both of whom stayed all night. —

April, [Monday,] 3d.

Thermometer at 36 in the mornG — 50 at noon — and 50 at night.

A hard frost this morning & a good deal of Ice — Wind Southerly and clear till the afternoon, when it shifted to the East and lowered.

Mr Fendall went away before Breakfast — and Mr Wallace & Doctr Middleton soon after it.

Lund Washington dined here Snow chiefly dissolved — ground very wet and unfit to stir.

Planted stocks of the imported hawthorn — brought by Mr. G. A. Washington from Mr. Lyons — in the inclosure below the stable — also 4 of the yellow Jessamine by the Garden gates. —

Tryed my Jack to day to a mare that was horsing but he woud not cover her. Mr Griffith came.

Tuesday, 4th.

Thermometer at 45 in the morning — 49 at noon — and — at Night.

Little wind but very cloudy in the morning, and before 10 o'clock it began to rain; and continued to do so moderately all day and till we went to bed — from the East

Sent my Seins and People to the Fishing landing at the ferry, but no hand was made of fishing.

Planted 6 of the pride of China brought from Mr Lyons by G. A. Washington, in my shrubberies in front of the House — 3 on each side the right & left walks between the Houses & garden gates — and also the two young trees sent me some time ago by Mr. Griffith, to which no name had been given. — these latter were planted, one on each side the right & left walks — near the garden gates on the hither or Et side.

Wednesday, 5th.

Thermometer at 45 in the morning — 45 at noon — and 44 at night.

Wind at No West or more Northerly all day and raining and

mizzling without intermission — being very disagreeable and the ground very wet.

Fanned all the heated Corn to day — the Trouble this Corn has occasioned to preserve it from entire destruction is equal to the worth of it. to prevent its receiving some damage & getting musty I have not been able to do. —

Hauling the Sein again to day to no great effect. —

Thursday, 6th.

Thermometer at 42 in the morning — 52 at Noon — and 54 at Night. —

Very clear all day and upon the whole pleasant though the wind blew pritty fresh and cool in the morning from the Nº West — but shifting to the southward it grew calm in the afternoon.

Mr. Griffith went away after breakfast and I rid to my Plantations at the ferry Dogue run & Muddy hole —

Transplanted 46 of the large Magnolia of Sº Carolina from the box brought by G. A. Washington last year — viz — 6 at the head of each of the Serpentine walks next the Circle. — 26 in the shrubbery or grove at the South end of the House — & 8 in that at the Nº end — the ground was so wet, more could not at this time be planted there.

Took the covering off the Plants in my Botanical garden, and found none living of all those planted the 13th of June last, except some of the Acasee or Acacia, flower fern, and privy & of these it was doubtful.

The Guinea grass shewed no signs of vegitation, and whether their root is living, is questionable.

None of the plants which were sowed with the seeds from China (a few of which had come up last year) were to be seen.

Whether these plants are unfit for this climate — or whether covering & thereby hiding them entirely from the Sun the whole winter occasioned them to rot, I know not

Cut two or three rows of the wheat of good hope, within 6 Inches of the ground, it being near 18 Inches high (the first sowing) and the blades of the whole singed with frost. —

Friday, 7th.

Thermometer at 50 in the morn^{g} — at noon — and 52 at night.

Rid to Muddy hole Plantation and finding the ground which had been twice plowed to make my experiments in them middling dry in some places though wet in others, I tried my drill or Barrel plow; which requiring some alteration in the harrow, obliged me to bring it to the smith's shop. — this suspended any further operation with it to-day. —

No fish caught to day, of neither Herring or shad. —

Set my Brick layer to getting sand & preparing for laying brick on Monday.

Mr. George Washington went to Alexandria and engaged 100,000 Herrings to Smith and Douglas (if caught) at 5/ p^{r} thousand. —

Saturday, 8th.

Thermometer at in the mor^{g} — at noon. — and 44 at night.

Lowering more or less all day and sometimes dropping. Wind South. — S^{o} E^{t} & more Easterly and at times pretty fresh — towards sundown the appearances of fair weather was more favourable. —

Rid a little after sun rise to Muddy to try my drill plow again which with the alteration of the harrow yesterday, I find will fully answer my expectation — and that it drops the grains thicker or thinner in proportion to the quantity of seed in the Barrel — the less there is in it the faster it issues from the holes — the weight of a quantity in the barrel, occasions (I presume) a pressure on the holes that do not admit of a free discharge of the seed through them. whereas a small quantity (sufficient at all times to cover the bottom of the barrel) is, in a manner sifted through them by the revolution of the Barrel.

I sowed with the barrel to day in drills, about 3 pints of a white well looking Oat, brought from Carolina last year by G. A. Washington in 7 rows running from the path leading from the Overseer's H^{o} to the Quarter to the West fence of the field where the ground was in the best order — afterwards I sowed in such other parts of the adjoining ground as could at any rate be worked, the common oat of the Eastern shore (after picking out the wild onion) but in

truth nothing but the late season could warrant sowing in ground so wet. —

None of the ground in w^ch these Oats were sown had received any improvement from manure, — but all of it had been twice plowed and then listed, after which the harrow had gone over it twice before the seed harrowing — this had it not been for the frequent rains, &c which has fallen would have put the ground in fine order.

Transplanted as many of the large Magnolio into the Grove at the N° end of the H° as made the number there

Also transplanted from the same box 9 of the live Oak — viz: — 4 in the bends of the lawn, before the House — and five on the East of the grove (within the yard) at the N° end of the House.

Plowed up my last years turnip patch (at home) to sow Orchard grass seeds in. No fish caught today.

Sunday, 9th.

Thermometer at 44 in the morning — at Noon — and at night.

Lowering more or less all day in the morning there were great appearances of rain — about noon it brightened up a little but in the evening it grew cloudy again, and a large circle appeared round the moon between 9 and 10 o'clock at night — The wind was at S° E^t and E S° E^t all day — and at times pretty fresh —

Mr. Dalby of Alexandria came here to dinner, and returned afterwards — in the Afternoon Doct^r Stuart and his Sister arrived and stayed all night.

Monday, 10th.

Therm^oter at 42 in the morning 50 at noon — and 46 at night.

Cold and raw northerly wind blew all the forenoon, and in the afternoon shifted Easterly & was not much pleasanter.

Began my brick work to day, first taking away the foundations of the Garden Houses as they were first placed, & repairing the damages in the Walls occasioned by their removal. — And also began to put up my pallisades on the wall.

Compleated sowing with 20 quarts drilled oats in the ground intended for experiments at Muddy hole; which amounted to 38 rows ten feet apart (including the parts of rows sowed on Saturday last) — In the afternoon, I began to sow Barley, but finding there

were too many seeds discharged from the barrel, notwithstanding I stopped every other hole I discontinued the sowing until another Barrel with smaller holes c^{d} be prepared. The ground in which these Oats have been sowed — and in which the Barley seed had commenced, — has been plowed, cross plowed, listed, (as it is called, that is 3 furrow ridges) and twice harrowed before the drill plow was put into it, with this the furrow is made & the seed harrowed in with & manured afterw^{ds}

Began also to sow the Siberian Wheat which I had obtained from Baltimore, by means of Col^{o} Tilghman, at the Ferry Plantation in the ground laid apart there for experiments. This was done upon ground which, some time ago had been marked off by furrows 8 feet apart, in which a second furrow had been run to deepen them. — 4 furrows were then plowed to these which made the whole 5 furrow ridges. — these being done some time ago and by frequent rains prevented sowing at the time intended had got hard — I therefore before the seed was sowed, split these ridges again, by running twice in the same furrow — after w^{ch} I harrowed the ridges — and where the ground was lumpy run my spiked Roller with the harrow at the tale over it — w^{ch} I found very efficacious in breaking the clods & pulverizing the earth; and w^{d} have done it perfectly if their had not been too much moisture remaining of the late rains; after this harrowing & rolling where necessary, I sowed the wheat with my drill plow on the reduced ridges in rows 8 feet apart — but I should have observed that after the ridges were split by the furrow in the middle, and before the furrows were closed again by the harrow — I sprinkled a little dung in them — Finding the barrel discharged the wheat too fast, I did after sowing 9 of the shortest (for we began at the furthest corner of the field) rows, I stopped every other hole in the barrel, and in this manner sowed 5 rows more, & still thinking the seed too liberally bestowed, I stopped 2 & left one hole open alternately — by which 4 out of 12 holes only discharged seeds; and this, as I had taken the strap of leather off seemed to give seed enough (though not so regular as were to be wished) to the ground.

Doct^{r} Stuart and his Sister left this after breakfast (passing through Maryland) to his fathers from whence the Doct^{r} is to proceed to Richmond.

Tuesday, 11th.

Thermometer at 40 in the morning — 52 at Noon — and 52 at night.

Wind at N° E^{t} all day and at times pretty fresh — raw — and disagreeable — towards evening it lowered a good deal, & the sun set in a bank

Sowing the Siberian wheat to day as yesterday at the ferry.

And sowed 26 rows of Barley (except a little at each end w^{ch} was too wet for the ground to be worked) at Muddy hole; below & adjoining to the Oats. — This was done with 12 quarts of seed, and in the manner, and in ground prepared as mentioned yesterday. The ends of these rows are to be sowed as soon as the ground is in order for it.

Rid to the Fishing Landing, where 30 odd shad had just been caught at a haul. — not more than 2 or 3 had been taken at one time before this spring — and from hence I went to Muddy hole & river Plantations; at the last of which the Overseer after three plowings & 3 harrowings — had begun to sow in drills three feet apart, & ab^{t} nine Inches asunder in the rows, the Seed (without name) saved from those given to me by Col^{o} Archib^{d} Cary last year.

In the section in my botanical garden next the House nearest the circle, I planted 4 rows of the laurel berries in the gr^{d} where, last year I had planted the Physic nuts &c., now dead. — & next to these in the same section are rows of the pride of China. — the rows of both these kinds are 16 inches asunder & the seeds 6 inches apart in the Rows.

Perceived, the last sowed Oats at Dogue run, — and those w^{ch} had been sowed in the Neck, were coming up.

Wednesday, 12th.

Thermometer at 42 in the morn^{g} — 55 at Noon — and 50 at Night —

A Brisk wind all day from the N° E^{t} — cold & raw, with appearances of a change of weather especially — towards evening when it lowered very much. —

Rid to the fishing Landing, ferry, Dogue run, and Muddy hole plantations. —

Finished at the first Sowing the ground intended for experiments, with the Siberian wheat — this spot contained 16^{A} 1^{R} 24^{P}. Including the fodder H^{o} &c^{a} which would reduce the cultivated Land to 16 acres at most — to sow these it took about 18 quarts of Wheat. —

— of the last rows had no dung in them — and those adjoining for back were only manured in the poorest parts. — the last rows were listed wholly as they were too hard baked for the harrow & roller notwithstanding the middle furrow to make much impression on them.

At Dogue run — I set the plows to listing the ground which had before been listed, in order to commence my experiments there on Friday. — began in the first long row by Wades houses. —

At Muddy hole, I sowed two rows of the Albany Peas in Drills 10 feet asunder (the same as the Oats and Barley) but conceiving they could not, for want of support, be kept [pre]vented from falling when they sh^{d} come near their growth I did not incline to sow any more in this way but to put all the ground between these two rows and the fence along the road in broad cast. — the ground in which these Peas were sowed was managed exactly as that had been in which the Barley & Oats (at this place) was. —

Next, adjoining the Oats, on the upper, or South side, I plowed 10 rows for Carrots two deep furrows in the same place for each over and above all the plowings & harrowings which the Barley &c^{a} had received — in the alternate rows — beginning at the second from the Oats — I sprinkled dung all along in the bottom of the furrows, and covered it with the earth which had been thrown out of them with Hoes — the same was done with the rows in which there was no dung — this was done to try — first, how this kind of land, and management would do for Carrots and next the difference between manuring in this manner which was pritty liberal and without — on the top of the ridge made over the furrow, I directed 2 or 3 seeds to be dropped in a place at the distance of 10 inches from each other — and to be scratched in with a thorny bush.

Planted in the N^{o} West section of my Botanical Garden 5 rows more of the seeds of the pride of China, in the same manner those were done yesterday. —

Thursday, 13th.

Thermometer at 44 in the morning — 56 at noon — and 52 at night.

A high, cold, and disagreeable wind from the Nº East blew all day — and the Sun for the most part hid.—

Rid to Muddy hole and river Plantations — the Carrots at the first were sowed as directed yesterday — and at the latter I began to sow Oats in rows ten feet a part, in grd managed in the following manner: —

1. marked off with single furrows,
2. another and deep furrow in this,
3. four boats to these —
4 plowed agn in the same manner.
5. a single furrow in the middle of these —
6 Dung sprinkled in this furrow
7. the great harrow over all these —

and 8th the seed sowed after the harrow with the drill or barrel plow, & harrowed in with the harrow at the tale of it. — Note. — It should have been observed that the field intended for experiments at this Plantation is divided into 3 parts, by boating rows running crossways — and that dung, and the *last* single furrow are (at least for the present) bestowed on one of these only — viz: — that part which is most westerly, or nearest the Barn. —

Doctr Craik, & Mr. & Mrs Lund Washington dined here. — the first stayed all night.

Friday, 14th.

Thermometer at 42 in the morning — 64 at noon and — at Night —

Clear Morning with the wind at Nº East, but neither very fresh nor cold — afterwd Southly & warm.

Doctr La Moyeur sent for his Black horse & Chaise which his servant carried away today.

Doctr Craik went to Alexandria after breakfast & returned again at night.

Rid to my Plantations at Muddy hole Dogue run and ferry in the forenoon. — and walked to that in the Neck in the afternoon. — At the first I finished sowing the Barley rows, and harrowed the

ground intended for the Albany Peas in broadcast. — at the next I began to sow the remainder (14 q^{rs}) of the Siberian wheat, which was left at the Ferry — and began to run deep furrows in the middle & to make five furrow ridges in a piece of the Corn gr^{d} for Carrots. At the ferry I ordered a piece of ground to be plowed for Corn & Potatoes. — and in the Neck — after sowing 24 rows of Oats upon a Dunged furrow, I ordered the discontinuance and to begin sowing Barley adjoining.

Sowed or rather planted at this place, 11 rows of the Seeds saved from those had last year from Col^{o} Arch^{d} Cary — and 35 rows (next to them) of rib grass seed — these rows were 3 feet asunder and the seeds (3 or 4) dropped at about 1 foot apart in the rows.

Saturday, 15th.

Thermometer at 56 in the morning — at noon and — at Night.

Clear all day, Wind Easterly in the morning & Southerly in the Evening — & rather cool.

Rid to Alexandria to a meeting of the Directors of the Potomack Company, who had advertised their intention of contracting on this day with whomsoever should bid lowest for the supplying the Company's servants with Rations for one year. — a Mr. Abel Westfall of Berkeley having done this, the Contract was made with him accordingly. — Dined at Mr. Lyle's tavern — and returned in the evening when I found M^{rs} Stuart and her children and Mr. Arthur Lee here. —

In my way to town, I passed through Muddy hole & Dogue run Plantations. — at the first I ordered the ground which was harrowed yesterday for Pease to be sowed with 6 Bushels, which was accordingly done, and harrowed in — the q^{r} was but little more than an Acre & an half.

Finished at the latter, sowing the Siberian wheat in 34 rows — This ground had been only twice plowed into 5 furrow ridges and then harrowed before seeding; 8 of the first rows, counting from Wades Houses had been rolled; but wanting the Oxen to Cart dung I was obliged to discontinue the rolling — these workings, with the harrowing at the tale of the barrel plow, did not put the ground by any means in such order as it ought to be for this grain. — but the wet Spring, and late season, would not allow me to do more to it.

Sowed in the Neck, 23 rows of Burnet seed in part of what was intended there alongside the rib-grass. — This was put in exactly as the rib-grass & other grass were. — that is in rows 3 feet asunder & about 1 foot apart in the rows.

Plowed a piece of ground containing two acres, at the ferry plantation, for the purposes of drilling corn, & planting Irish Potatoes in it — this was plowed flush & intended to be cross plowed.

Sunday, 16th.

Thermometer at 46 in the morning — 64 at noon — and 67 at night.

A brisk southerly wind all day and at times much appearances of rain, but none fell. Mr. Lee went away after breakfast —

Very few fish caught yet at my fishery at the ferry. —

Monday, 17th.

Thermometer at 58 in the morning at noon — and 58 at night.

Morning clear and warm, with very little wind. — about 10 o'clock it began to lower, and about 2 there were great appearances of rain but the wind getting to N.° West & blowing pretty fresh they all vanished.

Went up to Alexandria to an election of Delegates to represent this county; when the suffrages of the people fell upon Col [George] Mason and Doct.r [David] Stuart — on the first contrary to, and after he had declared he could not serve — and on the other whilst he was absent at Richmond — Capt.n West who had offered his services & was present, was rejected. — the votes were — for Col.° Mason, 109 — for Doct.r Stuart, 105 — and for Capt.n West 84.

Returned home in the evening.

Tuesday, 18th.

Thermometer at 52 in the morning — 58 at noon — and — at Night.

Wind at N.° West — pretty fresh & cool — cloudy also without much signs of rain. —

Rid to Muddy hole — Dogue run — & ferry plantations; & to the fishing Landing. — at the first they had begun to plant the Irish Potatoes in drills; 4 rows were allotted for this purpose 2 whereof

had a handful of dung put upon each set, which were at the distance of one foot in the rows. — the other 2 rows were planted at the same distance, and in the same manner, excepting in the article of manure, there being none in the Rows — at Dogue run I began to sow barley in drills next the Siberian wheat, and had (beginning at the meadow fence, & extending towards the old Houses) sowed 11 rows (long & short) in Carrots; 6 of which, beginning with the first, and so on alternately were dunged. — the others not — at the Ferry plantation little progress had been made in breaking up the ground for Potatoes &c^{a} it being hard occasioned by the late drying & baking winds. — At the Fishing landing little success had attended the seins.

One of Mr. Rawlins workmen (who came here on Saturday last in the Baltimore packet) began lathing my new room:

In the evening Mr. Dan^{l} Brent and Mr. W^{m} Stuart came in and stayed all night.

Sent my Boat to Alexandria this evening in order to bring down Flagstones & Fish Barrels &c^{a}.

Wednesday, 19th.

Thermometer at 50 in the morning — 62 at noon — and 60 at night.

Calm and warm in the forenoon what little there was came from the Southward — In the afternoon the wind sprung up — but not fresh from the East. —

Rid to my Ferry Plantation, and walked into the Neck. — at the first few fish were caught — at the latter I found (including what was sowed yesterday and Saturday) 50 rows of Burnet seed planted along side, and in the same manner of, the rib grass — & that they had begun to sow the Sainfoin seed — Sowing Barley yesterday & this day, at this plantation 30 rows of which had been put in before I got there every other one of which had a slight sprinkling only of dung not being able to get it out fast enough to manure every row. —

Mrs Stuart and her children went away immediately after breakfast — as did Mr. Brent & M^{r} Stuart.

A Mr. Chavillie & another gentleman (the first introduced by the Governor) came just as we had done breakfast & after one had been got for them proceeded on their journey to the Northward.

Before dinner, Mr. Rollins and a Mr. Thorpe came here; — the first being the undertaker of my new room intended to commence the work, and then to leave it under the conduct of the latter which I objected to for reasons which I assigned him; — he therefore determined to return & come back prepared to attend to it himself.

My Muddy hole People having compleated all the work that was to do except with the Plows before Corn planting in the common way, came to get the new ground in front of the House in order for that grain by fencing &c^{a} —

Major Washington's Charles returned from new Kent with the Calves & Jenny he went for.

Thursday, 20th.

Thermometer at 50 in the morning — 50 at noon — and 48 at night.

Wind fresh but not hard at N^{o} E^{t} all day and very cloudy, sometimes dropping rain.

Rid to Muddy hole, Dogue Run, and ferry Plantations — and to the fishery at the latter. —

Finished sowing 50 rows of Barley in drills, at Dogue run, which took 35 quarts of seed — The ground for this grain was twice plowed into 5 furrow ridges (or twice listed as it is called) then rolled with the spiked roller — after which it was harrowed, then sowed with the Barrel plow, & the grain harrowed in with the small harrow at the tale of it — Next adjoining to the Barley I left 40 rows for the common Country Pea — and then began to plow 10 rows for Potatoes w^{ch} I directed to be managed in the same manner previous to setting, with those for the Barley with the addition of a furrow after harrowing, to plant the Potatoes which are to be covered with the plow. These Potatoes are to be planted without dung because it could not be got out in time the Oxen being employed with the roller.

The shad began to run to day having caught 100, 200, & 300 at a drought.

My Jack covered a she Mule to day — after which two mares —

My boat which went up the day before yesterday, returned this evening only — being detained by the north East wind. —

Mr Battaile Muse came here before dinner on business respecting the collection of my rents and with his acct wch were just looked at but not settled.

My People from the Ferry began to work in the new ground in front of the House to day.

Sowed a Bushel of Orchard grass seed (given to me by Wm Fitzhugh Esqr of Chatham) in my last years Turnip patch at the home house. — the qty of ground might be about of an acre. — the grd in which these seeds were sown had been twice plowed — chopped over & the clods broken with Hoes and twice harrowed afterwards. — the Seeds were scratched in with a light Bush.

Friday, 21st.

Thermometer at 48 in the morning — 48 at noon — and 48 at night.

Drizzling till about 6 o'clock when it began a constant slow & moderate rain with the wind from Nº Et all day. —

About noon, one James Bloxham, an English Farmer from Gloucestershire arrived here with letter of recommendation from Colº Fairfax (& others to him) consequent of my request to him to enquire after such a person.

Saturday, 22d.

Thermometer at 50 in the morning — 56 at noon — and 56 at night.

In the night there fell a great deal of rain, with some thunder & lightning which put a stop to plowing and indeed most other workings of the Earth. —

Morning mizzling till about noon, when it broke away without much wind, which still hung to the Eastward. — It was also tolerably warm and pleast

Rid to the Plantations at Muddy hole, Dogue run, and Ferry — at the first fixed my Barrels for Planting Corn and Pease — but the ground was too wet to use them —The heavy rain last night had washed all the Albany Pease which had been sowed in broadcast out of the ground — those which had been sowed a day or two before in Drills were coming up as the Oats & Barley also were.

At the Ferry Plantation the Siberian wheat was here & there coming up. —

At the Neck Plantation finished before the rain sowing all my Barley, — rows with — quarts. — Also finished sowing the Burnet & Saintfoin, — rows of the former and — of the latter, part of which were short — and having some of these Seeds and those of the rib grass left, I sowed 8 of the Intervals of these with it in broad cast — 11 ditto of the Saintfoin — and 3 ditto of the Burnet in the same manner — Very little fish caught to day or yesterday.

Col° Fitzhugh and his son Will^m came here in the afternoon.

Sunday, 23^d.

Set off after breakfast, on a journey to Richmond,— to acknowledge in the General Court some Deeds for Land sold by me as Attorney for Col° George Mercer which it seems, could not be executed without. Dined at Dumfries and lodged at Stafford Court House. Very cloudy all day with but little wind and that from the Eastward.

Monday, 24^th.

A good deal of rain having fallen in the night and it continuing to do so till after 6 o'cl^k I was detained till near seven — when I set out dined at my Mothers in Fredericksburgh & proceeded afterwards to, and lodged at General Spotswoods.

Until noon the day was missling & sometimes raining which it also did in the night — but being warm — vegitation was much promoted — Wind Easterly.

Conversing with Gener^l Spotswood on the growth and preservation of the Pumpkin, he informed me that a person in his neighbourhood who had raised of them many years has preserved them by splitting them in two — taking out the inside and then turning the rind part up placed on rails or poles for two or three days to dry — after w^ch they were packed in straw — a layer of one, and a layer of the [straw ?] alternately by which means they keep well through y^e winter.

Tuesday, 25^th.

Set out from General Spotswoods about sun rising and breakfasted at the Bowling green. —

Where, meeting with Mr. Holmes (a neat, and supposed to be a

good farmer) I was informed by him that from experience he had found that the best method of raising clover (in this Country) was to sow it on wheat in January, when the ground was lightly covered with snow having never failed by this practice — whereas fall sowing is often injured by wet and frost and spring sowing by drought.

Dined at Rawlins and lodged at Hanover Court House.

The fore part of the day was clear and warm, but the latter part was showery and cooler — Wind westerly but not much of it. —

Wednesday, 26th.

Left Hanover Court Hº about sun rise — breakfasted at Norvals tavern — and reached Richmond about noon. — put up at Formicalo's Tavern, where by invitation I dined with the Judges of the General Court.

Morning cloudy & not much wind, but between 8 and 10 o'clock it came out fresh from the Nº Wt and died away again about noon.

Meeting with Mr Thoˢ Newton of Norfolk, he informed me that Mr Neil Jamieson, late of that place, now a merchant in New York was Executor of Jnº Shaw (also of Norfolk) who was possessed of the Books of Messrs Balfour & Barraud & to whom he advised me to apply, thinking it probable that I might obtain, a list of the Ballances due to that House and thereby recover what was due to me therefrom. —

Thursday, 27th.

Acknowledged in the General Court a Deed to James Mercer Esqr for the Lotts he and I bought at the sale of his deceased Brother Colº George Mercer and received a reconveyance from him of my part thereof.

Road with the Lieut Govr Randolph, the Attorney General, and Mr. George Webb, to view the cut which had commenced between Westham and Richmond for the improvement of the navigation of James river — going late, and returning to dinner left but little time to view the work, or to form a judgment of the plan of it.

Dined, and spent the evening at the Attorneys — lodged again at Formicalo's.

Friday, 28th.

Left Richmond about 6 o'clock — breakfasted at Norvals — Dined at Rawlins — and lodged at the Bowling.

This morning as yesterday was perfectly clear, warm and pleasant — yesterday, however was calm — to day the wind blew fresh from the S°West. & in the afternoon became cloudy with great appearances of rain, a few drops of which fell, but in the evening it cleared and turned cooler. —

Saturday, 29th.

Set out from the Bowling green a little after Sun rising — breakfasted at General Spotswood's — Dined at my sister Lewis's in Fredericksburgh — and spent the evening at Mr. Fitzhugh's of Chatham.

One of my Chariot Horses having got lame going to Richmond, but forced back to Gen! Spotswood's (not, however, without much difficulty) was left there with a Servant who was ordered to proceed with him on a horse which Gen! Spotswood would lend in two days.

Wind being fresh at N° West, it was clear and cool to day.

Sunday, 30th.

Set off about sun rising from Mr. Fitzhugh's breakfasted at Dumfries and reached home to a late dinner.

Where I found three of Mr. Rawlins' men; two of whom (one a Mr. Thorpe director of the work) had been since Sunday last; & had employed many hands in preparing Mortar & other materials for them. — That the Fishing (especially at the home house w^ch^ had been discontinued on acc^t^ of the failure of the Sein) had not been successful. That Col° Gilpins scow had been sent up on Monday last. — That the Rains had retarded the plows a good deal and had prevented sowing Pease — or planting Corn. That the Irish Potatoes had been planted on Tuesday last at Dogue run, though the ground was wet to prevent the rot destroying them all; the wetness of the ground prevented the use of the roller in this operation, but the want of it was supplied by Hoes, to break the clods. — That the Timothy seed intended for the oat ground at

Dogue run had been sowed on it — (and for want of the roller had been scratched in with a Bush, which was wrong as the Oats, were thereby torn & injured.) — That the Neck People had on Wednesday last finished drilling the Barley at that place in 66 rows — every other of which had a sprinkling of Dung in the middle furrow — That my Drilled Wheat from the Cape had been propped to prevent its lodging. — That the common Chesnut (which it is apprehended are spoiled) was planted below the hops on thursday last — That the Irish Potatoes had been planted at the River plantation on thursday last in ten rows, each alternate one being dunged as those at Muddy hole were. — That the ground which had been prepared for Flax was sown therewith on Friday last and harrowed in — then with clover seed and the whole rolled. — That 14 rows of the live & Water Oak Acorns had been planted on the same day in my botanical garden, but it was not expected that any, or very few would come up. — That every other row of Corn in the cut intended for experiments at Muddy hole was planted by the Drill plow with the early corn from New York — and that all the Peas (consisting of two kinds) had been planted at the same place and in the same cut That when the worked ground was too wet to stir, or touch the plows were employed in listing for Corn. — and lastly that the Mercury during my absence had stood thus — viz:

		morn^{t}	noon	night
23^{d}	Sunday	54	60	58
24	Monday	53	60	59
25	Tuesday	56	68	66
26	Wednesday	62	69	66
27	Thursday	66	69	64
28	Friday	64	70	68
29	Saturday	63	67	60
30	Sunday	52	60	59

On behalf of the Hon. JOSEPH WILLIAMSON, a Corresponding Member, Mr. HENRY H. EDES communicated and read a paper dealing with the identity of the "Master Williamson" who is said to have accompanied Myles Standish on the latter's visit to Massasoit in March, 1621.

MASTER WILLIAMSON OF THE PLYMOUTH COLONISTS, 1621.

A narrative of an interview of the Pilgrims with Massasoit, sachem of the Wampanoag tribe, held 22 March, 1620–21, says:

> Captaine *Standish* and Master *Williamson* met the King at the brooke, with halfe a dozen Musketiers, they saluted him and he them, so one going over, the one on the one side, and the other on the other, conducted him to a house then in building, where we placed a great Rugge, and three or four Cushions, then instantly came our Governour with Drumme and Trumpet after him, and some few Musketiers.[1]

In his History of Plymouth Plantation, Governor Bradford makes mention neither of the Massasoit incident nor of Williamson. The latter name is not in the list of passengers by the Mayflower, and no immigrants except those who came in the Mayflower reached the Colony until November, 1621.

Various conjectures about Master Williamson have been made, some of which are ingenious and many improbable. In Prince's Annals, the Mourt statement is adopted without criticism. Prince was very particular in giving authorities, and Mourt is the only one cited concerning it.

Alexander Young says:

> There was a Thomas Williams, but no person of the name of Williamson, among the signers of the compact. It is probably an error of the press. It is very unlikely that anyone of the ship's company would be associated with Standish in this duty. Perhaps it should read Master Allerton.[2]

Williams died before the end of March. This explanation, however, is not accepted by Savage, who assumes that Williams was then living, and says:

> No Williamson was there, we know, as passing. in the first voyage of the Mayflower, wh. had not sail. on her return, nor had any other vessel arr. . . . Prince ought to have detect. this error, wh. is the reverse of a very common one in the old rec. or even print. books, of sinking the final sylla.[3]

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[1] Mourt's Relation (1865), pp. 92, 93.

[2] Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers, p. 192 *note*; *cf.* pp. 113 *note*, 174 *note* 3.

[3] Genealogical Dictionary, iv. 572, 573.

Palfrey writes:

"Master Williamson" (Mourt, 36). There is no *Williamson* in Bradford's list. There is a Thomas *Williams* (Bradford, 449), but his place on the catalogue is such as to make it seem unlikely that he would be called *Master*, and he probably died before the visit of Massasoit. The name may have been a misprint for *Allerton*, who was Standish's companion on the same errand the following day.[1]

In 1866 Samuel G. Drake remarked:

Who was "Mr. Williamson" mentioned in the early narratives of the Pilgrims? No satisfactory answer has yet appeared. That "Mr. Williamson" is a misprint in *Mourt's Relation*, for "Mr. Isaac Allerton," as has been confidently asserted by the *author ?* of *The Chronicles of the Pilgrims;* may be possible, or even probable; but that is the most that can be said about it. The question is not settled, and perhaps never will be.[2]

The will of William Mullins contains this item:

I give to my twoe Overseers M^r^ John Carver and M^r^ Williamson, twentye shillinges apeece to see this my will performed desiringe them he would have an eye over my wife and children to be as fathers and freindes to them.[3]

John Ward Dean remarks:

William Mullins, the testator, was one of the passengers in the Mayflower, and the father of Priscilla Mullins, the heroine of Longfellow's Poem "The Courtship of Miles Standish." The will was evidently drawn up at Plymouth, New England, which was then considered a part of Virginia. The date of the will is not given, but it must have been on or before Feb. 21, 1620–1, for on that day Mr. Mullins died, according to Governor Bradford's Register, as quoted by Prince in his Chronology, Part ii. p. 98. . . . Mr. Williamson, who is named as overseer of the will, I take to be the "Master Williamson," who, according to Mourt's Relation, . . . was present March 22, 1620–1, when the first treaty was made with Massasoit. Rev. Alexander Young, D.D., finding no person by the name of Williamson among the signers to the compact,

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[1] History of New England, i. 178 *note*.

[2] F. Baylies's Historical Memoir of the Colony of New Plymouth, v. 24.

[3] New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xlii. 62, 63.

concludes that the name Williamson was probably an error of the press, and suggests that of Allerton instead. . . . Dr. Young's conjecture has generally been adopted by later writers.[1]

In 1889 the Reverend Henry M. Dexter made the following statement:

In the third number of the first volume of "Genealogical Gleanings in England," is given what purports to be a copy of the nuncupative will of William Mullins, of the "Mayflower" Company, from the London Probate Records. It is prefaced by the date of 2 (12) April, 1621; which was forty days after Mr. Mullins' death, as given by Prince, and three days before — by the same authority — the "Mayflower" started on her return voyage. . . . He gives to the two overseers — Mr. John Carver and Mr. Williamson — 20*s.* apiece to see his will performed, desiring them to have a kind care of his wife and children. . . . The appointment of the overseers is significant. The elder two of the children were in England; it was expected that the widow, the younger two children, and the somewhat wayward servant would need to be cared for in this country; while part of the estate seems to have been there, and part here. Therefore John Carver was chosen to administer affairs on this side of the sea, and it looks as if his associate "Mr. Williamson" were selected to dó like service in England. Mourt's "Relation" (p. 36) states that when, 22 March (1 April), 1621, which was a fortnight before the "Mayflower" sailed for home, Massasoit and his brother first visited the colonists, "Captain *Standish* and Master *Williamson* met the King at the brooke, with halfe a dozen Musketiers;" and as no man of that name appears upon the list of the Company, or was known otherwise to be on the ground, it has been always supposed that, among the many obvious carelessnesses of the unwatched press of John Bellamie, this name had gotten itself misprinted for that of Allerton, or some other of about the right length. The occurrence of the name here again, however, raises the question whether a man named Williamson was not present with the forlorn colonists, and present in a condition and under circumstances to make his being joined with Governor Carver as an executor of this will eminently probable. I think this question should be answered in the affirmative, but will return to the point after one or two other suggestions. . . . The three witnesses of the will were John Carver, Giles Heale, and Christopher Joanes. . . . One name remains: Giles Heale. Who was he? On the

[1] New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xlii. 63, 64.

fly-leaf of a copy of Henry Ainsworth's "Psalms in Metre," of the edition of 1618, . . . is . . . the following inscription:

This booke was given unto Mr. *Giles Heale, Chirurgion*, by Marke Allerton, Tailor in Virginia, the X. of February, in the year of our Lord 1620: Da. Williams.

Virginia was (then) new Plymouth. The "X. of February in the year of our Lord 1620" was Saturday, fifty-one days before the date of the certification of the copying of this will. "*Marke* Allerton" is simply the misreading, by the bookseller, of the *Isaacke* which was written on the fly-leaf. . . .

To return now to "Mr. Williamson." You will have noticed that this inscription of presentation from Allerton to Heale seems to have been witnessed by "Da: Williams." I take leave to think that this was an abbreviated or misread chirography for *Williamson;* that the man's first name was David; and that he was the factor, financial agent, or supercargo of the "Mayflower." The East India Records to which I have just referred show (p. 100) one principal and three subordinate factors in each ship, — whence it becomes easy to think that in this West Indian voyage at least some one respectable and thoroughly competent man of business would have accompanied the expedition to look after the interests of the Company, who were risking considerable property with a party of colonists whose obvious poverty made promise hold a much larger place than performance toward the immediate satisfaction of all claims upon them. Grant that Mr. David Williamson was such a man, and held such a post, and his presence with Captain Miles Standish in the interview with the Indian king becomes appropriate and natural, as does the fact that poor Mullins, knowing that Williamson on the return of the ship would take his will over to be probated in London, asked him to be its executor for the benefit of his two children in England, as Governor Carver was desired to look after the interests of his widow and the two younger children and servant here.[1]

The late Reverend William Cogswell, in a biographical sketch of William D. Williamson, says there is a tradition that one of that name, who had command of a company in King Philip's war in 1675–6, might have been a son of Master Williamson.[2] But he admits that nothing further concerning the latter than is given by Mourt appears in the printed narratives of those times, and that no

[1] 2 Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, v. 33–37.

[2] New England Historical and Genealogical Register, i. 90.

positive knowledge of his immediate posterity exists. This simple report of tradition has been since adopted as a fact by several local historians. In Miss Thomas's Memorials of Marshfield (p. 75), the fancy of the writer borrows from the fictitious pilgrim, remarks Savage in the Genealogical Dictionary before cited, the Christian name of George to bestow on him. The same statement appears in Winsor's History of Duxbury (p. 337). The Reverend Charles H. Pope goes further in suggesting that perhaps the Marshfield soldier of 1675 was the Plymouth adventurer of 1621.[1]

Divested of all suppositions and probabilities, the mere mention of the name in Mourt's Relation constitutes all that is known of Master Williamson. Not the slightest shadow of confirmatory evidence that such a person existed has been found.

Mr. S. LOTHROP THORNDIKE communicated and read some reminiscences of Dr. Andrew Craigie of Cambridge, written by the late John Holmes.[2]

ANDREW CRAIGIE.[3]

Just now, when the old memories of Christ Church are being awakened, it is not amiss to recall one of those who take their final rest beneath its shadow. In my early boyhood I occasionally heard the name of Andrew Craigie, but never explored so far as to become acquainted with his residence, which was the present Longfellow house. I propose no more than to give the facts that casually reached me concerning him, as I remember them, — a legendary rather than a historical notice. I think that he was spoken of as having been a surgeon in the Continental Army,[4] and that after the

[1] Pioneers of Massachusetts, pp. 501, 502.

[2] John Holmes, a brother of Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, was of the Harvard Class of 1832.

[3] This was printed in the Doll's Record, a newspaper published 18 April, 1893, in aid of a fair given by the ladies of Christ Church, Cambridge.

[4] Dr. Andrew Craigie was Apothecary-General of the Northern Department of the Revolutionary Army, and cared for the wounded at Bunker Hill. He was born in Boston 22 February, 1754, the son of Capt. Andrew Craigie who joined the West Church 1 February, 1756, during the pastorate of the Rev. Jonathan Mayhew (Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xxiv. 283; Records of the West Church in Boston; Paige's History of Cambridge, 183 and *note;*

war was closed he had purchased Government securities, which rose rapidly in value after the new Constitution was established. He became rich enough to purchase the confiscated estate of one of the Vassalls, and was able to continue the handsome style of living of his predecessors. He married, when quite old, or elderly, the beautiful Betsey Hammond,[1] but the many years of valuable experience which he contributed to the common stock do not seem to have added to the general fund of matrimonial happiness.

Well would it have been for him if his friends could have said to him, — "Thou hast no speculation in thine eyes." But he had, and a great deal of it. His plan was to develop Lechmere's Point, called in my younger days "The Pint," and bring into the market

Memorial History of Boston, iii. 113. See 1 Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for February, 1874, xiii. 250).

[1] Mr. Holmes is in error here. Dr. Craigie's bride was Elizabeth Shaw, only child of the Rev. Bezaliel Shaw (H. C. 1762) of Nantucket, and cousin-german to Chief-Justice Lemuel Shaw. In Nathaniel Cutting's Journal of a visit to Boston in the autumn of 1792, we catch a glimpse of her in the following entry:

> Nov. 6. We went to Aspinwall's Hospital to visit the intended bride of Mr. Craigie, Miss Shaw, who is now under the operation of the small-pox by inoculation. (1 Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for March, 1871, xii. 66.)

She was married by the Rev. Abiel Holmes to Dr. Craigie, 10 January, 1793, and died in Cambridge on Wednesday, 5 May, 1841, at the age of 69. As Dr. Craigie was in his thirty-ninth year at the time of his marriage to Miss Shaw, who was noted for her beauty, Mr. Holmes's statement that he was "quite old, or elderly" is amusing. Her miniature by Robertson is in the possession of Samuel Savage Shaw, Esquire. In a letter written by the Rev. Bezaliel Shaw to his brother, the Rev. Oakes Shaw (H. C. 1758), he speaks of Mr. Craigie as a person —

> on whom the hand of Providence has liberally bestowed the good things of this life. . . . He has purchased the estates that formerly belonged to Harry and John Vassall. He lives in "the house that Jack built."

Mrs. Craigie's mother was Elizabeth Hammond, daughter of John and Mary (Ruggles) Hammond of Rochester, Massachusetts, where she was born 9 January, 1742, and married to the Rev. Bezaliel Shaw 17 September, 1769. She spent her last years with Mrs. Craigie and died in Cambridge 7 April, 1814, at the age of 72 (Nantucket Town Records; Records of the First Church in Cambridge; Records of the First Church in Rochester; Boston Evening Transcript of Saturday, 8 May, 1841; A History and Genealogy of the Descendants of William Hammond, Boston, 1894, pp. 234, 235; Letter of Samuel Savage Shaw).

the land he had secured there. The new road to "the Colleges,"[1] now Cambridge Street, the bridge to Boston, still called Craigie's Bridge, the removal to the "Pint" of the Court House and Jail, were all parts of this plan.

The embargo in 1807 covered Boston and its dependencies like an extinguisher. But apart from that, Mr. Craigie's plans and those of his contemporary schemers, — the making Cambridgeport a great emporium of trade, the Concord turnpike, *etc.*, — were, even if rational in their conception, premature by some forty years. I remember in my own boyhood the scanty population of the lower "Port" outside of the main street, with the brick blocks planted here and there in the solitude, like seed for new settlements. Concord Turnpike and Craigie's Road also, each offered a retreat to which the austere recluse, shunning the face of man, might retire with no fear of intrusion. The toll which was to repay the building was found represented only by the funeral knell of departed funds.[2]

It is now that we come naturally to Mr. Craigie as a debtor, the legendary character in which we have mostly heard of him. Overwhelmed with judgments, the sly *capias* in the pocket of the constable waiting for him, he remembered that every man's house is his castle, and retired to this fortress allowed him by law. Inside his house he was safe from arrest. Whether he could venture outside upon his own premises, or was confined to his four walls, we cannot learn. As it can do him no harm, and is more picturesque, I prefer the first supposition.

It is a fine bit of mediævalism that we Old Cambridge folks have, and we ought to be proud of it. Here is a man with nothing against him but a large pecuniary balance, liable to capture, falling back on his "Castle," to use the term contained in the legal apothegm. The towers, walls, portcullis, barbican, appear at once before us. But to quit the fanciful, — Mr. Craigie had every right in the world, except to go out of his own house. To that act a quasi penalty was attached. Does it not give a new interest to the

[1] For the use of the word "college," as applied to the College buildings, see Dialect Notes, ii. 91–114.

[2] For particulars of Dr. Craigie's schemes and land speculations, see Paige's History of Cambridge, pp. 184–186, 203–208.

Longfellow house,[1] that a genuine debtor of the old school has looked with longing eyes on the free and solvent Charles carrying his punctual dues to Ocean, and on the fair Brighton hills where the only *capias* is that awaiting the cows at night? Did he ever venture forth at evening, seeing a constable and *capias* in every bush? We accept the question readily, and wish that we could answer it, but tradition fails here.

But if Law shut Mr. Craigie up on week-days, Religion came to set him free on Sunday. On that day he was free to go abroad, and I presume used his liberty to attend at Christ Church, then open for worship. How long this state of duress lasted, whether to his death or not, I cannot say.

Somewhere about the year 1820, going over one Saturday afternoon to play with a boy at a house standing on or near the site of the present Law School, I saw a movement at the door of the church. Some half-dozen people were in motion. I do not remember whether the bell was tolled. This was the scant, lonely funeral of Mr. Andrew Craigie.[2]

These notes and reminiscences are addressed, aside, to only the few experts or esoterics in Cambridge antiquities, — people who if asked the following questions, would answer readily and perhaps with some resentment at the doubt of their knowledge implied by the inquiry: Where was the old Court House?[3] The old Jail?

[1] See an article on the Craigie House by our associate Mr. Samuel Swett Green in the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for April, 1900, New Series, xiii. 312–352; and another by Miss Alice M. Longfellow in the Cambridge Tribune of 21 April, 1900, in which Miss Longfellow erroneously refers to Dr. Craigie's bride as "Miss *Nancy* Shaw." See also Josiah Quincy's Figures of the Past (1883), pp. 25–27; and Col. Higginson's poem on Madam Craigie, in his Afternoon Landscape (1889), pp. 44, 45.

[2] Dr. Craigie died in Cambridge on Sunday, 19 September, 1819, aged 65. He was a Warden of Christ Church of which, in the days of its adversity and of his prosperity, he was a generous benefactor (Columbian Centinel of Wednesday, 22 September, 1819, p. 2/4; Paige's History of Cambridge, p. 310).

[3] From the Harvard Magazine for November and December, 1863, we learn its location:

> The old County Court-House stood where the Post-Office now is, and the remains of this ancient building can still be seen in the rear of the Post-Office. . . . At the Great Rebellion in 1808 the students refused to eat in commons, and held out a week or more in their intention. During that time all the exercises of the College were suspended. The parents and friends of the students met in the old Court-House, where now the

The Market House? Where was the College Wood-yard?[1] Where were the old Hay-scales? Where was the window from which little Joe Hill saw Lord Percy's reinforcement pass by? Where was the little brook that ran over gravel towards the Charles and, like the two princes, was stifled in its bed?

The Hon. FRANCIS WILLIAM HURD was elected a Resident Member.

Post-Office stands, and, after considerable negotiation with the College government and the students, College exercises were resumed, and commons for a while were improved (x. 98, 127).

[1] The following extract is taken from the Harvard Magazine for November, 1863:

This article should not be closed without mention being made of the College Wharf. From time immemorial, almost, College has owned a wharf on the river. Until within a few years it was built of wood. In olden time the sloop Harvard, a College institution, made continuous voyages to the coast of Maine, for the sole purpose of keeping the College wood-yard well supplied. The wood-yard of late years was in the rear of the present College House (x. 98).

The notes to this paper were not written by Mr. Holmes.

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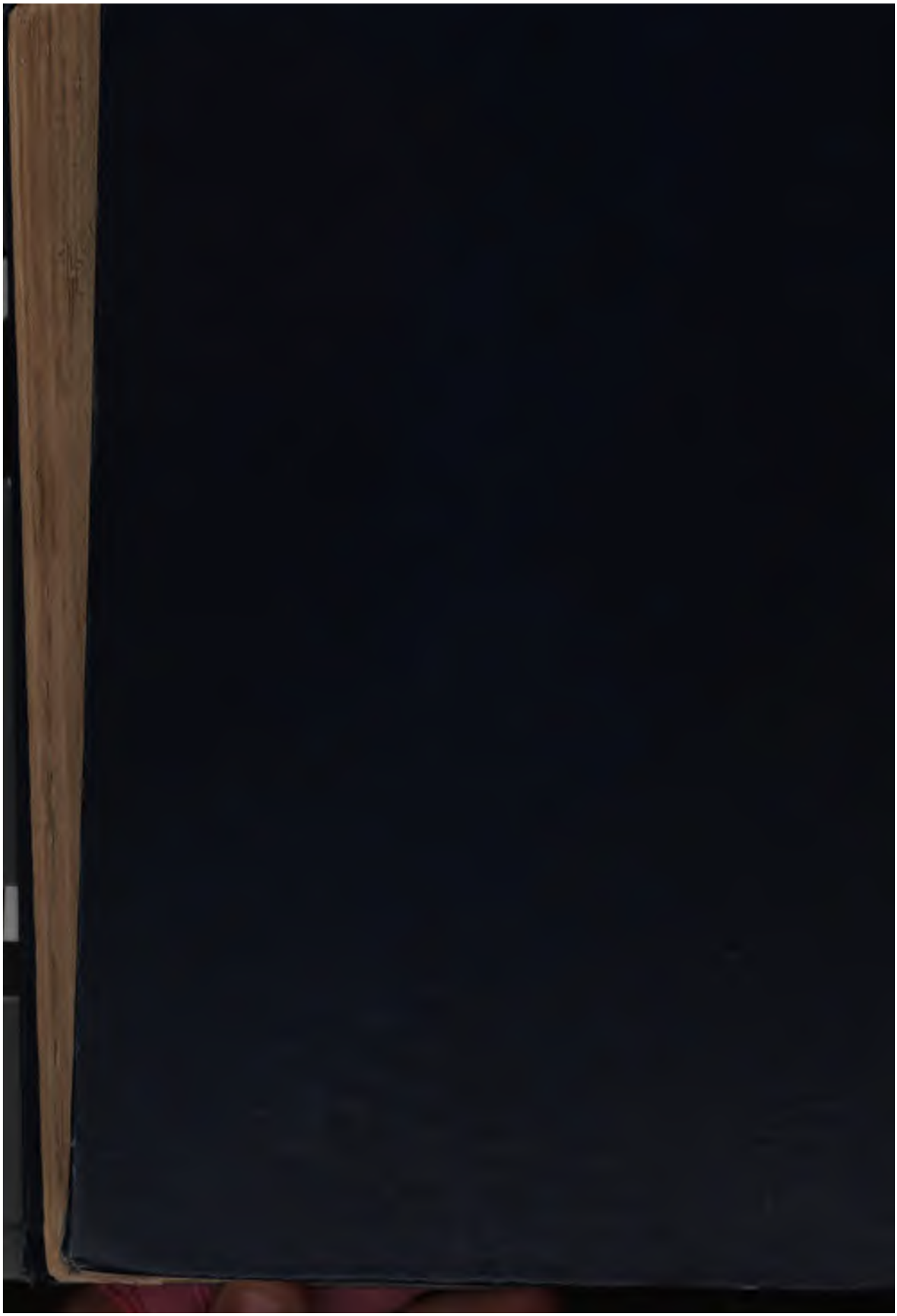
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